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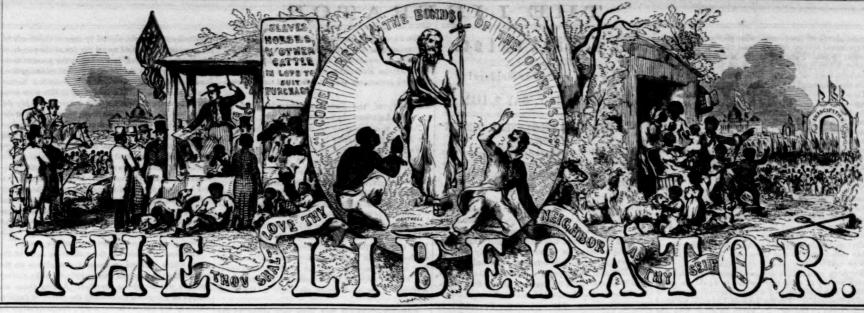
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. F TERMS-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,

Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOL-

LARS, if payment is made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be

directed (FOST PAID) to the General Agent. Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennnia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are nutherised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ee, but are not responsible for any debts of the Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :- Wexbell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Ed-YUND JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1862.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in event way in which it can be interpreted wirn, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cossion of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, AC CORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."--J. Q. Adams.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1637.

# VOL. XXXII. NO. 19.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE PORT ROYAL MISSION.

Editars of the Journal of Commerce:

Sirs,—In your paper of Saturday you say, "The nonsensical, wild and fanatical plans of irresponsible men and women which are having their trial at Port Royal are a subject of sorrow and disgust to the intelligent world." I am well acquainted with some of the persons employed as Superintendents and treachers at Port Royal, and have recently been there. Most of them were selected in this city or in Boston by eminent eitzens, lay and clerical, and they are not irresponsible in any just sense of the word. They have a social position and character which entitle them to respect, and have received a commission which has been sanctioned by the Government. If their plans are what you describe, I have failed to discover it; and as to the plan formed in this city, I send you a copy, to speak for itself. I respectfully ask you to state how the plans referred to deserve the character you ascribe to them, and upon what evidence you assert that their trial is a subject of sorrow and disgust to the intelligent world. Editors of the Journal of Commerce:

New York, April 28, 1862. The above communication, to which we give place The above communication, to which we give place with pleasure, is from a gentleman for whom we have the highest personal esteem, but whose name we regret to see connected with several of the most radical propositions of the day. The request made of us is proper, and although we might prefer to let the Port Royal expedition die in peace, we cannot refuse to justify our own remarks. The article to which reference is made, is one in which we spoke of plaus of religious instruction of the blacks. We per, and although we might prefer to let have said that the men and women were irresponsi have said that the men and women were irresponsible, and that the plans were nonsensical, wild and fanatical. We did not use the word irresponsible in its legal acceptation. They may be able to pay their debts, or respond in damages to any action brought against them. But they are not responsible to any one for their conduct, the whole plan of ac-tion at Port Royal is voluntary, and each teacher pursues his or her own notion of the right doctrine to be taught. If we are wrong, we will correct it; but in the papers sent in by our esteemed friend we fail to find any indication that a teacher at Port fail to find any indication that a teacher Royal who shall instruct the negroes in Unitarianism, or Universalism, or Spiritualism, or Trinitarianism, or in any other form of religious belief, is responsible to any one for the course he or she pursues. We find the first line of the 7th Article of the Plan submitted to us as follows: "Schools and churches shall be established among them" (the negroes.) shall be established among them" (the negroes.)
Now we respectfully suggest, without mentioning
names at all, that for an association made up of men
whose religious creeds are as diametrically opposed
to each other as Peter's and that of Simon the sorcerer, to propose to establish churches among any
class of people, is monsensical and wild, if not tinged
with functions

the Society, Spiritualists, Unitarians, Friends, piscopalians and members of several other denomransophalais and memoers of several other denominations—a catholic society, but not the sort to undertake a missionary work of establishing churches among supposed heathen, or organizing either Sunday or any other schools of religion. So much for the religious aspect of the mission, which was the subject the article to which our friend has taken exception. Now as to the political. Are these teachers instructed to teach servants their duties to their masters! They are sent to the supposed "freed men' at Port Royal. In all probability, many of these are the servants of loval masters, or of widows and infants. All of them will be restored to slavery unless confiscated, or freed by some process of law which will be held good in South Carolina, and maintained in the State or United States Courts there. What political instruction is given to these servants should be strictly of the Pauline sort, but our correspondent will hardly tell us that it is such. We find that the chief managers of this association are gentlemen who have published their names heretofore in ap-proval of the doctrine, that the war has absolved the overnment from all constitutional obligations to the owners of slaves, loyal or disloyal. This doctrine is of the negroes at Port Royal are responsible to these political heretics for their teachings, to whom are the managers responsible for the disunionism they teach managers responsible for the distinctions they teach the negroes? Would the society reject a teacher or preacher because he was a Presbyterian, or a Spiritualist, or a Unitarian, or an Infidel, provided he seemed otherwise competent? Would the society dismiss a teacher because he instructed the negroes that they were the seemed of the s they were born free, and that they ought to escape from their masters, if they should happen ever to be restored to them? Do the society require any fundamental religious or political creed as the necessary qualifica-tion of a teacher, or church founder?

If not, then the plans are wild, nonsensical and fa-natical. No wise man would, on reflection, go into such a society for missionary purposes. We treat this matter very gently, (!) because we believe that some of the gentlemen who have been managers, have gone into it honestly, for philasthesis and her of the gentlemen who have been managers, nave gone into it honestly, for philanthropic and be-nevolent purposes, but they have made a mistake. The mistake of the whole thing is that radical herest, that anti-slavery and Philo-Negro-ism is all of religion and philanthropy that is necessary for any man, and that the cardinal doctrines of Chris-tianity are all included in a rendered unnecesdanity are all included in, or rendered unneces sary by this new creed. One Sunday School Mis onary of the American Union, or one Colporteur of the American Tract Society, responsible to those of the American Tract Society, responsible of old and highly trustworthy institutions, founded on the grand fundamental principles of Christianity, would be worth a thousand missionaries of an "irresponsible" organization, like the one we are now discussing. As to the evidence which our friend asks, we must take leave to say that he has hardly and the must take leave to say that he has hardly and the must take leave to say that he has hardly and the must take leave to say that he wants read the newspapers for some weeks past, if he wants

tion on that subject. The honest Christian, Pagan, or Mohammedar desirous of doing good, seeks alliances with men of his own creed, and works with them to attain his ends. Christians, holding certain fundamental doctrines and differing on others, find it profitable to unite in the diss unite in the dissemination of those truths which they unite in believing. But for Pagans, Mohammedans, and Christians, to unite in establishing churches in a mission station, would appear some-what strange to a sensible man; and yet, with due respect to the gentlemen concerned, and without designating which resemble which, we do no injus-tice to them. tice to them in saying that this association is made up of quite as widely different classes.—New York Journal of Commerce.

There is any amount of malice, nonsense and navery mixed up in this attack upon the estimable men and women who have so compassionately gone to Port Royal to instruct the poor benighted slaverefugees at that place; but the Journal of Commerce is sensitive to our use of such descriptive epithets, deeming them in shocking bad taste; and, therefore, hese must suffice .- Ed. Lib.

ate, April 23, by Hon. Garret Davis, of Kentucky:

Sir, a change has come over the spirit of Mr. Phillips's dream, and what has produced that change? He thinks he has found his own party in power, in the possession of the executive and the legislative branches of the Government; or if his own party are not in power, they have such skillful and dexterous and able and unscrupulous leaders here that they can cajole the simple, moderate, conservative, constitutional Republicans into their extreme measures, and I expect that he relies very much upon the two Senators now in my eye, one from Massachusetts, (Mr. Sumer.) and one from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale.) What does he now say? Mr. Phillips was arguing recently in this city. ("Did you see him?") I hold no fellowship with him. I disdain to know any such man. Any man who audaciously avows himself a traitor to the Constitution, and is willing to subvert it for the purpose of achieving the emancipation of the slaves, or of dismembering the Southern States and establishing a Southern Confederacy, or for any other purpose under God's heaven, I condemn and denounce. He is a traitor, and his heart is filled with nothing but treason and treasonable projects; he ought so to be treated; and when that man Wendell Phillips was in office, we had no trust that merited measures was in office, we had no trust that merited measures was in office, we had no trust that merited measures was in office, we had no trust that merited measures. treason and treasonable projects; he ought so to be treated; and when that man Wendell Phillips was would ever be taken against them. We hope the treated; and when that man Wender Finings was here in this city, lecturing as he did lecture, he ought to have been seized by the President or the Secretary of War, and manacled and confined at Fort large was a much more

"I have labored nineteen years to take nineteen States out of this Union;"—

Oh, what a labor !-"and if I have spent any nineteen years to the satisfaction of my Puritan conscience, it was those nineteen years."

May the Lord deliver this country from any such accursed Puritan conscience as that!

who dared to give utterance to such a sentiment?

Speaking of the origin of the rebellion, Phillips declares that "it was nobody's fault, but that it is

Referring to William Lloyd Garrison, the inveteragreement with death, and a covenant with hell," he characterized him as "a man who had done more in the providence of God to shape the fate of this nation than any other one;" and that he (Phillips) "was proud to sit at his (Garrison's) feet." I wish he was sitting there, and would sit there forever, and that they were both in the very central point of the peninsula of Africa. It would be better for the peace of the country, that they and all their admirers and proselytes occupied that locality.

### THE ARMY NOT ABOLITION.

Every country has the misfortune of producing a herd of pestiferous publicists. Such a spawn is as natural to an empire as bad excrescences to the most valued trees that grow. The human crowd is as peccable as it is finite: as a consequence, it is as frequent in having a wicked as a noble issue. France was once subverted by its "Philosophers." At the present moment, the entire South of Europe is in danger of a revolution of the most sweeping kind from arrogant pretenders to State wisdom. England has had its Chartists. Let the history of all nations

GARRET DAVIS AND WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Extract from a speech delivered in the U. S. Senate, April 23, by Hon. Garret Davis, of Kentucky:

Sir, a change has come over the spirit of Mr.

Sir, a change has come over the spirit of Mr.

Warren or Fort Hamilton. He was a much more wicked and mischievous and dangerous man than many who were so treated. What did he say in his lecture here in Washington? He was a much more is that of saying that our army has the overthrow of slavery for its end. If the army entertained that idea, they would throw down their arms. This is absolutely true of the Irish troops—the bravest men On, it is to receive a new interpretation! I adhere to the old political bible, and to its interpretation by its apostles and the Supreme Court, and I deny and condemn utterly any of your modern jesuitical interpretations of it.

President, to increase disunion in the South, and to disaffect the army. Evidently this is hydra-headed treason. Let the President and the army put it down. There is no other remedy.—Boston (Catholic) Pilot.

## Selections.

EXPULSION OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

The World contends that the North, as well as the South, is determined to root out and drive off all free blacks. The African race may live among us as "Unless within twelve months or twenty-four, Maryland is a free State, Delaware, and half Virginia, would to God that building"—

"with the city of Washington, had been shelled to ashes last July."

What an atrocious sentiment! Suppose a Secesh was to come into this capital or to go to Cineinnati, and was to take such a diabolical position as that, would not the whole world of Black Republicanism, and of Constitutional Republicanism, and of Constitutional Republicanism, and of Unionism of every name or grade or dye, without any exception, have risen in condemnation of the miscreant try, except by keeping up the hellish institution of on, have risen in condemnation of the miscreant dared to give utterance to such a sentiment? human slavery, is a libel on all history, and on our own experience. What more useful, thrifty, industrideclares that "it was nobody's fault, but that it is the inevitable results of the seeds our fathers planted eventy years ago." And in another place he says of the fathers of the Republic, "they dared not trust in God."

Referring to William Lloyd Garrison, the invotor. to take their places? Or does it propose to send at disunionist, who kept standing time out of mind at the head of his paper the sentiment that the men who had framed the Constitution had made "an all except laborers born within the tropics? The plan of depopulating our southern States by exterminating the blacks, is the wildest, wickedest scheme that was ever broached in a Christian community Happily, it can never be carried into execution ex cept to a very limited extent. All the resources of the nation would be inadequate to such a gigantic undertaking. But it may be prosecuted far enough to cause untold misery. It may be prosecuted just far enough to keep the negro under a perpetual ban, and to excite and aggravate those cruel caste prejudice which the case of slovery has engandered. dices which the system of slavery has engender.

The plan which the World recommends is

has had its Chartists. Let the history of all nations be opened: it will show that not one of them has exemption from the dire evil of bringing forth, now for cold-blooded atrocity, deliberate and premeditate and then, a scurvy progeny of thinkers and writers. America is by no means free from this wretched fate. We are a young people; but our youth is counterchecked by a wide measure of fecundity in dangerous citizens. Like far older governments, the UNITED STATES have their issue of froidy cogitators whom no reason can silence, and in whom suicide would be a national benefit. It is unnecessary to mention that it is the abolitionists who constitute this tribe of persons. The existing rebellion is chiefly the result of their unbridled finataticism. The fatal doctrine of secession has prevailed in the South for a long period; but the rabid abolition sentiment of the North acted on it as the tropical sun does on the torpid snake; and peace the country cannot enjoy until the same sentiment shall be driven out of life. The revolt has two causes. The worshippers of the negro, and those who hold the poor creature in slavery. No argument is needed to show that a complete return to the recent prosperous condition of things is impossible until both factions are put down. We have an army in the South. There is direct need of another in the North. The career of Phillips, Garison, Greeley, Beecher, and Brownson is quite as rice, of the control of the control of the street of another in the North. The career of Phillips, Garison, Greeley, Beecher, and Brownson is quite as treasonable as that of any of the public men of the South. It is a weakness not to bind to the law the enemies of the Constitution wherever they can be seized. The proper remedy to meet the curse of having a spawn of pestiferous publicists is the iron arm of the State. Wherever these people are permitted to carry on their designs, they soon make of that arm of the State. Wherever these people are permitted to carry on their designs, they soon make of that arm of the State. Wherever these people are permitted to carry on their designs, they soon make of that arm of the State. Wherever these people are permitted to carry on their designs, they soon make of the arm America is by no means free from this wretched anything to equal the proposal of this northern re-

#### FREE NEGROES IN THE NORTH.

The setting free of a few thousand slaves, by act of Congress, in the District of Columbia, and by the

The setting free of a few thousand slaves, by act of Congress, in the District of Columbia, and by the presence of our army in various rebel States, has become the occasion of a new demonstration on the part of those afflicted with a cutaneous horror of a portion of the human race. Petitions are being industriously circulated in various portions of the Free States, praying for laws to shut out such of the freed blacks as may choose to come into those States, and prohibit, by penal enactments, their immigration or settlement.

To a man who believes the negro has no right to live at all—that he should be an outlaw entirely, and be hunted from the face of the earth, like a noxious wild beast, such enactments may seem to be just and right. But it seems to us they cannot be defended on any other ground. These negroes must go somewhere—the devastation of war and other circumstances make it impossible for them to remain where they are—they must seek a home, either temporary or permanent, where they can able, but, on the contrary, has always professed to able to make the devent and the contrary, has always professed to able, to the contrary, has always professed to a proposed to the desired to the people, that they are unfriendly to the institution of slavery; their professions of dislike of human bondage are all a sham. Let us proceed to the testimony as to the truthfulness of these statements.

The fact is as demonstrable as any problem in mathematics, that the adherents of the old Democratic parry at the North are the pror-slavery. It is useless for the pror-slavery. It is useless for the properties and upholders of slavery. It is useless for the properties and upholders of slavery. The contrary has always my professed to share a support of the contrary has always professed to a properties of the address of these statements.

The fact is as demonstrable as any problem in mathematics, that the adherents of the old Democratic parry at the North are reman where they are—they must seek a home, either temporary or permanent, where they can earn and obtain a living. It is the sheerest inhumanity to deny them the privilege of entering the only refuge that is open to them. To compel them to remain in a devastated region, or to hang around the outskirts of camps, or be the prey of kidnappers and scoundrels of the deepest dye in the border slave States, is the alternative presented. This is what Northern Legislatures in the nineteenth century are asked to do in the name of freedom, of

what Northern Legislatures in the mineteenth cen-tury are asked to do in the name of freedom, of civilization, of white labor. Six hundred thousand able-bodied, mostly labor-ing men, are in our armies. It is not probable that the whole number of contrabands exceeds one-tenth of that number. Of these, possibly one-half, or thirty thousand, may find their way to the Free States. To talk of the free labor of the North, just drained of six hundred thousand laborers, suffering from the competition of thirty thousand negroes, is refreshingly absurd.

We last week alluded, however, to the cardinal fallacy upon which the objection to the influx of new laborers is founded, and endeavored to make it apparent. We repeat, that it is idleness, not competition, which the laborer has to dread. Para-

We do not believe the petitions against them are the spontaneous results of alarm in the minds of working men. They are got up by politicians for political purposes—chiefly to promote a revival of the Cutaneous Democracy. We expect to see that party taking ground, within six months, that the page has no right to live except as a live of the country negro has no right to live, except as a slave, and that he ought to be banished from the country of his birth, because, forsooth, he is black.—Delhi (N. Y.)

#### THE NEGROES AND THE NORTHERN STATES.

We give below an extract from an article in the Philadelphia Press, upon the subject of the emanci-pation of slaves, and what would be their future

"Many persons entertain the opinion that if any onsiderable number of the Southern slaves obtain considerable number of the Southern Staves countries their freedom, they will necessarily emigrate to the Northern States, and that thus a large proportion of our white laborers will be thrown out of employ-

ed men. The Africans, like all other races, prefer congenial climes, and they will not venture from them unless compelled to do so by very powerful motives. It has been a rare occurrence for any of the large body of free negroes who reside in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, to journey northward. As a general rule, only flying fugitive slaves, or those whose freedom was imperilled by the system of hostile State legislation that has of late years been commenced in the South, have ventured on this experiment. A striking proof of this fact is furnished by the census of 1850. Of the 53,000 free blacks of Pennsylvania, only 15,000 were not born on our soil. Of the 54,333 free blacks of Virginia, only 533 were emigrants; of the 74,723 in Maryland, only 1,367; of the 18,073 in Delaware, only 1,141.

only 1,141.

It is thus clearly shown that they are not a mi gratory race, and that there was very little disposi-tion to emigrate even to Pennsylvania, notwithstand-ing her contiguity to the homes of a large body of free blacks. The causes for this are numerous. The Southern States comprise one of the largest agricultural districts in the world, and nearly all the labor that has heretofore been performed there has been done by Africans. Their labor will be as much needed hereafter as heretofore, and no change that may be made in the conditions upon which it is to be performed will dispense with the power and present necessity of its employment. Practically, in the Southern States the negroes find a climate agreeable and healthy, and a demand for their labor, —in the Northern States an uncongenial climate, and little, if any demand, for their services. No large body of men have ever emigrated for the sake of emigration—and particularly when they could derive no absolute benefit from the change, and when they had no strong love of novelty nor spirit of enterprise to impel them." blacks. The causes for this are man, would have done away with in There is a just caution everywhere. The fox-hand little, if any demand, for their services. No large body of men have ever emigrated for the sake of emigration—and particularly when they could derive no absolute benefit from the change, and when they had no strong love of novelty nor spirit of enterprise to impel them."

This is a common-sense view of the subject, and thus a ridiculous bugbear is disposed of which has frightened so many unreflecting persons.

claim, that slavery in our national capital was desirable, but, on the contrary, has always professed to hold, that chattel slavery in the District of Columbia was uncongenial with the spirit of our institutions, and its peaceful removal desirable.

and its peaceful removal desirable.

The sincerity of Democratic professions of opposition to slavery was a few days ago put to the test.

The bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was opposed wholly by men in Congress who profess to be Democrats. When the final vote was taken, twenty-two Representatives from the free States voted against putting an end to slavery in the national capital. Here Democracy, so called, gave a practical exhibition of its love of slavery, nowith-standing all its professions of loving freedom better. Let no one hereafter deep that those who lead the old Democratic party are wedded to slavery; that they cling to it as a vital element in sustaining their distinctive organization. All the rallying point that party now has is slavery: were it to abandon that, it would have no cementing bond of union left, and

would die at once.

The action of the Democratic members of Congress, in both Houses, admits of no other construction than that here given it. The act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia is free from the obapparent. We repeat, that it is independent of the laborer has to dread. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the greater the proportion of laboring men, that is, the greater the "competition" of labor, the better off is the laborer. The reason of this is that the laborer supports the idle man. If there were no idle men, the laborer would only have to support himself.

The absence of six hundred thousand laborers upon the battle-field may not depress the wages of the laboring man at home, but it will assuredly increase the price he will have to pay for the necessaries and the comforts of life.

The laborer is also a consumer. The laborer from the free States have been accustomed to make in past years. It violates no rights of property, even admitting slaves to be property. It provides compensation, which is believed to be ample, for those who are recognized as the owners of slaves; without paying for it. The people of the District of Columbia have repeatedly petitioned Congress for the passage of an emancipation act. Why, then, was the bill opposed by Democratic Representatives from the free States? The constitutional power of Congress to remove slavery from the District of Columbia is free from the objections which the most conservative men of any party in the District of Columbia is free from the objections which the most conservative men of any party in the free States have been accustomed to make in past years. It violates no rights of property, even admitting slaves to be property. It provides compensation, which is believed to be ample, for those who are recognized as the owners of slaves; without paying for it. The people of the District of Columbia have repeatedly petitioned Congress for the passage of an emancipation act. Why, then, was the bill opposed by Democratic Representatives from the free States? The constitutional power of Congress to remove slavery from the District of Columbia have repeatedly petitioned Congress for the property of the property of the property of the pro

ries and the comforts of life.

The laborer is also a consumer. The laborer gives in return for what he consumes, something that has an intrinsic value. For what he has, the rest of community receives pay that is in itself valuable, and supplies its wants. But the idle man able, and supplies its wants at all, or he pays in money which has little or no intrinsic value, but is only valuable as a means of exchange. The more there are of such men as this in the world, the worse it is off. But the more laborers there are, engaged in useful avocations, the better for everybody, and the more the necessaries, the comforts and the luxuries of life are placed within reach of the million. more the necessaries, the comforts and the luxuries of life are placed within reach of the million.

There need be no apprehension from the influx of a few thousand freed negroes. They will not one-tenth fill the void left by our soldiers. Nor will their competition trouble the white laborer. They will consume as well as produce, and the more they will consume as well as produce, and the more they earn, the more they will spend.

We do not believe the petitions against them are

### DEMOCRATIC TREASON.

A Massachusetts soldier, writing to the Newbury port (Mass.) Herald, utters this ominous threat:—

pork (Mass.) Herald, utters this ominous threat:—
"Our rifles are coming, and we are in readiness to march. We are to be attached to King's division. You may bet one thing, though, that McClellan will send us to the right place. By the way, what is the government thinking of, that it don't suspend the New York Tribune, confiscate the office, and hang Greeley? Is he aware how popular the General is with us? Is he and the wretched rabble at his heels aware of our strength? What if Roman and French history should repeat itself, and we, the soldiers, should say who repeat itself, and we, the soldiers, should say who should be the next President?"

A paragraph embodying this threat of some mis erable traitor is going the rounds of the Democratic press. The leading Democratic newspapers have repeatedly intimated their willingness to see the government of the United States transformed into a military despotism, provided slaveholding vengeance could be thereby wreaked on anti-slavery men

of our white laborers will be thrown out of employment, and heavy taxes or other expenditures caused by the necessity of providing for indolent refugees. It requires, however, but a slight examination of the subject to see that this conjecture is not well founded. There has been, in all our past history, but very little voluntary emigration northward of colored men. The Africans, like all other races, prefer congenial climes, and they will not venture from them unless compelled to do so by very powerful motives. It has been a rare occurrence for any of the large body of free negroes who reside in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line, to journey northward. As a general rule, only flying fugitive slaves, or those whose freedom was imperilled by the system of hostile State legislation that has of late years been commenced in the South, have ventured on this experiment. A striking proof of this fact is furnished by the census of 1850. Of the 53,000 shrine of military ambition, it would be the dearest-bought gratification they ever experienced. They may desire it now, but, fortunately, their desires will not be gratified.—Delhi (N. Y.) Republican.

### THE STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.

In America, the pro-slavery war of the North con tinues. The descendants of the Puritans give up their children and their money; and rejoice to get well beaten by sea, lest they should damage slavery by land.
What is man? has been a solemn question. Bu

What is man? has been a solemn question. But what is, sometimes, the absence of a man?
English anti-slavery chuckles in the idea, that there will be something like a compromise, after all. Shattered as the main fabric may be, it hopes to see enough saved out of the pieces, to authorize its assault on Mrs. Beecher Stowe. It means to point to these, and say, "See there, what she, rash woman, would have done away with!"
There is a just caution everywhere. The fox-

WHO AT THE NORTH SUPPORT AND UPHOLD SLAVERY.

The fact is as demonstrable as any problem in
Whistle! Calculate the hearths that have been made desolate, and the proceeds of industry which might have been made available for comfort, and see what is to be found on the other side of the account. Somebody set down as their hobby, that it would be pleasing, agreeable, what little boys and girls call nice, to restore the Constitution which had been smashed to pieces, to its state before the smash. Evsmasted to pieces, to its state before the smash. Every old woman would do so with her pickle-pot, if she had not better wit. In the first place, what chance was there of its being accomplished? If violets plucked the sweetest showers can ne'er make grow again, what chance was there that any gardener could stick the fragments into their old places, instead of making clean conveyance of the origin of the mischief? A baby thought it would be nice to try: but hed the have no gardian no thoughtful try; but had the baby no guardian, no thoughtful bonne to guide his erring mind? Suppose a danger of another kind, and he is pursued by an evil beast, with ample start and time to reach a point where danger was at an end. Whereupon our baby ex-perimentalist, moved by reasons which, when he is eaten, he cannot be asked to explain, undertakes to think how pleasant it would be to try if he can do it on one leg. It is difficult to deny that this is what has been done by the triffers with Providence in

America. America.
General Fremont's "appointment has given great offence to the moderate party." An officer teased Louis the Fourteenth for promotion. "Your regiment," said the monarch "gives more trouble than all the army besides." "Sire," replied the officer, "the enemy says just the same."—Bradford (Eng.) Advertiser.

#### PROGRESS OF FREE SENTIMENTS.

For months past, the people beyond the mourtains have been determined to cut loose from the Old Dominion, and form a new State, to be called Kanawha. They have gone so far as to hold a Convention to draft a Constitution, but this Conven-Convention to draft a Constitution, but this Convention was so far behind the age that it wanted Kanawha to come into the Union as a slave State, and actually refused to incorporate in its draft of a Constitution a provision for the emancipation of the slaves. This was old fogyism indeed! But when the leaders failed them, the people themselves took the advance. No sooner was this action of the Convention known than they took the matter in hand, and by an overwhelming yote have declared their vention known than they took the matter in hand, and by an overwhelming vote have declared their determination to cast off forever the curse of slavery. The result seems to astonish the people themselves. The papers of Western Virginia confess that a Revolution is sweeping along the Alleghanies, and, like a flood in the Ohio, bearing down dead wood, rotten logs, and old stumps of trees, it is clearing away the decayed institution from every part of that great valley watered by the Ohio and its tributaries. The Wellshup Herald, one of the logal papers, says: Wellsburg Herald, one of the local papers, says:

"Was there ever a greater revolution in public sentiment than has been wrought in the public mind of Western Virginia, during the last very few months, on this very subject? The late election tells the tale. In counties where, eighteen months ago, the venerable Ruffner was treated with contumely and insult for having years before been the author of praying years before been the author of praying the state. for having years before been the author of a pamphlet advocating gradual emancipation, the people, after one one year's tuition in the rough school of war, endorse his views by a vote which is wonderful for its unanimhis views by a vote which is wonderful for its unanimity. In counties where, a few months ago, to question the divinity of slavery was to court at least political martyrdom, the sovereigns have voted 100 to 1 to get rid of the institution. When the official vote of last Thursday comes to be published, those who have doubted the liberalizing effect of the war upon the minds of the people on this subject will be astounded. Preston rolls up her 1500 majority for a free State; Wood her 1300 to 13; Monongalia, Marshall, Wetzel, Tyler, Harrison, the home of Carlile, and Marion, the den of the Haymonds, the Neesons, and of more traitors than any other county of equal population can boast, all uniformly gave tremendous majorities for the new Constitution, and, where a vote was taken, for gradual emancipation.

for gradual emancipation.

Verily, slavery is doomed in Western Virginia from the date of that vote; and, unless the educationary process be quickly stopped, it will not be long before the Valley, Piedmont, and Tide Water will experience the same startling phenomenon."

If indeed the Revolution is once begun in earnest, it will be apt to go on. "Revolutions never go backward" is an old proverb. The movement inaugurated among the sturdy farmers on the sides of the Alleghanies, may rise high enough to break over the barrier of the Blue Ridge and descend upon Eastern Virginia. Most certainly will it roll down the valley of the Ohio into Kentucky. Thus we believe, before many years will all the Border States become—what the District of Columbia now is—de-livered from the curse of slavery, Free, and Free Forever!—New York Evangelist.

### JOEL PARKER AND CHARLES SUMNER.

The article in the North American Review, alluded to in another article, has been published in pamphlet form, bearing the name of Joel Parker, a professor in the Cambridge Law School, as its author. The knowledge of the authorship entirely removes the surprise we felt as to the character of the con-temptible attack on Mr. Sumner. Mr. Parker betemptible attack on Mr. Sumner. Mr. Parker belongs to that class of politicians who have always been hostile to the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts, and to the men whom she has chosen to represent that sentiment in the national councils. He was one of those who, at the period when the Fugitive Slave Law was being discussed, exerted all his powers to prove its constitutionality, and to deaden the moral sentiment of the people against that odious and inhuman act. He is a fitting person to make a dastardly attack on Mr. Sumner. His asmake a dastardly attack on Mr. Sumner sault, published in the Review as an apparently can-did and disinterested discussion of an important subt-ject, is merely intended to create a prejudice against Mr. Sumner, and is now distributed in its presen-form to aid in that effort, with the idea that its previous appearance in the Review will blind the peo-ple at large to the fact of its being anything more

than a mere electioneering document.

This is a part of the plot which the pro-slavery politicians in this State have been at work upon all

politicians in this State have been at work upon all winter to supersede Mr. Sumner in the Senate.

They will be prosecuting their efforts during the summer with the hope of securing a majority in the Legislature opposed to Mr. Sumner's re-election. We dare say that Mr. Parker has an itching for a seat in the Senate. His name has, we believe, been before suggested for the place. But the plot won't work. The people of Massachusetts are too wide awake to be deceived by any such devices as those which Mr. Jeff. Davis's allies in this State are concecting. Neither Mr. Parker nor any other politicocting. Neither Mr. Parker nor any other politician of that stamp can supplant Mr. Sumner.—New Bedford Standard.

If slavery were abolished, what would be left to fight about? Then, knock it in the head!

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The National Intelligencer publishes a very inter-esting series of contraband letters which were found on board the Confederate steamer Callion, captured by our blockading squadron as she was in the act of running the blockade of the entrance to the Missis-sippi river on the 23d of January last. The central are in the group of letter writers thus brought to knowledge of the public, is Thomas Butler King, agent for some Georgia steamer scheme in Europe, but who appears to have devoted all his time for the year past to the cause of the Southern Confederacy. The correspondence is of a very miscellaneous na-ture, but some of it throws such valuable glimpset on the most audacious iniquity of modern times that

we make such extracts as our space will allow.

The first glimpse is of the brassy assurance which distinguished the rebels on the opening of President Lincoln's administration. Mr. A. E. Cochran writes Lincoln's administration. Mr. A. E. Coc from Macon, Georgia, March 5, 1861:—

"Nothing new. Most people read Lincoln's inaugural as a 'no fight' measure, and few care a 'cuss'

The next is like unto it, but more practical, being from the private and confidential letter of J. Cowles. New York, April 10, 1861, to Mr. King, viz.:—

"This day Fort Sumter will be attacked, and before this reaches you Pickens—then all the Slave States will rush together, a separation will of course follow, and the Confederacy acknowledged; then capital will follow, and we can carry our plans.

Now we cross the water, and find Mr. J. M. Vernon Now we cross the water, and find Mr. J. M. Vernon writing from Brussels to Mr. King: "I have been on the continent, and operating for our commercial independence since last June." That is, June, 1860, before the Presidential campaign had fairly begun.

Beverly Tucker, who is still in Paris, wrote in June last, and showed the private sentiments of the rebels toward John Bull, as follows:—

"We have whipped the scoundrels in three instan and, what is worse for them though better for us, we have proved already their utter inefficiency to cope with us. Not the least gratifying element is the threatening aspect of England and the United States. or rather the rotten Government at Washington. grant that it may lead to a rupture, and that 'John Bull' may blow their blockade sky high. If he does this I will forgive him a load of his self-conceit, arrogance and hollow philanthropy."

A Mr. E. Peirse, who has three or four letters in this interesting batch, tells Mr. King from Diepp how to get at the London Times, and is pleased t should not wonder if the Western States secede, and that 'Maine' joins Canada." In the next letter this "wonder"-ful man comes to the conclusion that "the war will break down in the North for want of funds."

The two next correspondents of Mr. King are "Haldeman," (a Pennsylvanian, we believe) a son of the late Com. Claxton, of Maryland they say nothing of consequence. Another writer, evidently of some note, under the signature of "Maryland," writes, apparently from London, in regard to the recognition of the Southern Confed-

"I feel authorized, after having had two friendly "I feet authorized, after naving had two friendly conferences with a prominent member of the Foreign Office, and one with one of the most, if not the most, influential of the confidential advisers of the Sover-eign, to give it as my belief that but little hesitation and delay would be met with in attaining this desired

The same writer cautions Mr. King against young South Carolinian in Paris named Mortimer and says he does so on the authority of his father. "who is heart and soul with the South." Loyal people will be glad to hear more about this young Mor

The next correspondent on the carpet is Mr. J. L. O'Sullivan, who sent the National Intelligencer, last spring, a patriotic Union ode, to the tune of the "Star Spangled Banner." In August he was readly to do anything for the rebel cause, though chained down at Lisbon "by absolute want of means." Mr. O'Sullivan was the late United States Minister to

owing him comes "Ch. Haussollier." France whose note is only important for the statement it contains, that one of Mr. King's secession pamphlets was published at the request of Michael Chevalier the eminent French champion of free trade, and for the following:-

"I need not recall to your memory what the Minis ter told you in one of the interviews you had; it was too gratifying for you to have forgotten it."

The revelations next turn their light upon the British Consul at Havana, Mr. Crawford, who nounced by one of Mr. King's correspondents "a thorough Southerner." This, and doubtless other convincing testimony, makes such an impression on Mr. King that he actually writes to Earl Russell, December 6, 1861, saying of Mr. Crawford:—

"I therefore beg leave to assure your lordship, most ctfully, that her Majesty's Government could not ster to reside near the Government of the Confeder

This is the height of impudence. Still, Mr. Crawford is as likely to be British Minister to the South-

ern Confederacy as anybody else.

We have seen with what assurance the correspo

dence began—but it ends amusingly enough to grati-fy the most indignant loyalist. All these plotting diplomatists were needy in the pocket, though rich in visions of Southern glory. We have observed Mr. O'Sullivan chained down at Lisbon by "absolute want of means." But he is not alone. J. M. Vernon is "entirely out of money." Haussollier begs that the future Southern Embassador will reer his services. M. Calhoun says the foreigners "will take no drafts on the South at all, and that he never saw such times before, though he and that he never saw such times before, though he had been through some hard ones. R. Mitchell duns Mr. King, and says, "I did not expect you would let me support your expenses." J. N. Beach is trying to negotiate a loan for Mr. King. And to cap all, Robert Hutchinson wishes Mr. Yancey to give him the address of "Mr. Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, U. S.," adding:—

"Perhaps I ought to state that I have instruction to direct my solicitor to arrest him for a considerable

Perhaps these little facts, wherever the rebel agents in Europe were known, much more than offset all their gorgeous representations and artful devices.—Boston Journal.

### THE DELUSIONS OF ONE YEAR AGO.

As a specimen of the absurd calculations up which the Secessionists one year ago initiated the present deplorable war, we republish the following article from the Mobile Evening News of that period, copied from that paper into the Columbia (South Carolina) Guardian. No comment is necessary:—

"There are now, as nearly as can be estimated upward of one hundred thousand organized and d men in the seven Confederate States, unde orders or anxiously awaiting them to spring to the post of danger at the word of Jefferson Davis. Within eight or ten days time at the furthest he can concentrate sixty thousand of these men, the best concentrate sixty thousand of these men, the best soldiers in the world, at any point on the northern border, and hurl this splendid army like an avalanche upon the foe. If the battle ground be in Virginia or Maryland, as it probably will, the grand army of the Confederacy will be doubled or trebled by the rallying hosts of those States. We have reason to believe that hundreds of companies are now on the move, or will be within twenty-four hours, all bound

omewhere. Such is our immediate war power. Should we move on Washington, does the en expect to hold it against us? To hold it against ar army of a hundred thousand men, and a hostile local population? Large as the telegraphic reports from the land of the enemy read, it will be at least a month before Lincoln can muster into service, and concentrate into an army, a hundred thousand men. We are ready, he is not. Our people, naturally so inclined, have been making soldiers of themselves for months. His people have been doing nothing of the sort, and are not naturally so inclined. Our ordinances of secession were really the notes of our war-like preparation. Their first note of preparation was the cannonade of Charleston. We have had three months the start of them, and are ready—they

Months ago the minds of our people had settled resolvedly to meet any issue. Now the p the people of war's first alarms. We confront them, a cool, col-lected foe, that will never give them time to recover from their surprise. We are ready for action—they are getting ready to prepare to act. They may

raise plenty of men—men who prefer enlisting to starvation, scurvy fellows from the back slums of cities, whom Falstaff would not have marched through Coventry with; but these recruits are not soldiers, least of all the soldiers to meet the hotblooded, thoroughbred impetuous men of the South. Trencher soldiers, who enlisted to war on their rations, not on men, they are fellows who do not know the breech of a musket from its muzzle, and had rabreech of a musket from its muzzle, and had ra ther filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly open combat. These are the levied 'forces' ther filch a handkerenier man new manly open combat. These are the levied 'forces' whom Lincoln suddenly arrays as candidates for the honor of being slaughtered by gentlemen—such as Mobile sent to battle yesterday. Let them come South, and we will put our negroes to the dirty work of killing them. But they will not come South. Not a wretch of them will live on this side of the

border longer than it will take us to reach the ground and drive them over. Mobile is sending forth to wage this war of inde expensive, extravagant to put such material against the riff-raff of mercenaries whom the abolition power has called out to war upon us. We could almost hope that a better class of men would fall into the difficult to conquer, and whose conquering would be more honorable. For the present, however, we need not expect to find any foe worth fighting, with the exception of a few regiments, for the North is just getting ready, and will likely be whipped before it is ready."

#### A RIGHTEOUS RETRIBUTION.

-----, Wednesday, April 30, 1862. "At the latest accounts from Fredericksburg, General McDowell was occupying as his headquarters the house of Mr. Lacy, immediately opposite that city."

ny mind some incidents connected with that he which I trust will be interesting to your readers, and which, to my own mind, are not without their lesson. This mansion to which I refer bears the name of Chatham, and was immediately at the end of Chatham bridge which was named from it. The bridge is now in ruins. The mansion was built by Judge Coalter, one of the best of the old Virginia school of gentlemen, a Judge of the District in which he lived, and a lawyer of high attainments. He was a man of great wealth, and selected this beautiful eminence for the noble mansion which under his own superision was reared upon it. Chatham was

there probably has never been a gentleman or states man of the old *regime* who has not been entertained within its almost classic walls. More than twenty years ago this old and beloved citizen died, bequeathing his entire wealth and estate to his excellent widow. She was a woman of generous nature and of the purest piety. Among other property left her were a large number of necessitions and all the pure treatments.

kuown as the seat of refinement and hospitality, and

she always treated with kindness During her life her youngest daughter, a lady of great beauty, was married to Mr. Horace Lacy. To him, therefore, the property fell on the death of Mrs. Coalter, which happened a few years ago at a very

advanced age.

Mrs. Coalter had during many years previous to
her death, declared that she should set her slaves free when she died. For this purpose she called in a near relative of hers, who was a lawyer, and employed him in writing out her will. Now this lawer, who resides in Fredericksburg and is well known there, set a wishful eye upon these negroes. nim, or to any but Lacy? He hit upon this expedient: He persuaded the old lady to put it in her will ent: He persuaded the old lady to put it in her will that these negroes might have the choice of becoming free, or of selecting masters or mistresses from among her blood relations. There are so many hot ploughshares to be traversed before Freedom can be ached, that it is not to be wondered at if the alter native presented itself to this lawyer's mind as that likeliest to befall these ninety-five negroes.

But when the old lady was dead and the will was

opened. Lacy was inconsolable for the loss of these Until at length some legal Mephistophiles -and his tribe has not decreased in Fredericksburg -whispered it into Lacy's ear that all was not lost. These negroes were by the will given their choice of freedom or masters; but by the laws of Virginia, a slave, not being a citizen, had no right to choose.

Incredible as it may seem, this infernal scoundrel, Horace Lacy, seized on this point and subverted the life-long wishes of his mother-in-law as to the free-dom of these slaves. The writer of this has heard Mrs. Coalter speak with gratitude of the affection , and express her determination to set The Circuit Court sustained Lacy's of her slaves, claim, and the matter was taken up to the Supreme Court of Virginia, which also sustained the law of the case—the ablest Judge on the bench, R. C. L. Moncure, bringing in a minority opinion of great power against the flagrant wrong. His opinion described by the pro-slavery of the Moncure, bringing in a minority opinion of great stronger against the flagrant wrong. His opinion power against the flagrant wrong. His opinion stroyed beyond restoration. I hope it will a was vehement and bold, and was all the more imstored; and I am sure it will be ultimately portant because he resided on a farm but a short

human beings of their freedom, which without an exception they had decided to "choose," he had to com-

Lacy became very unpopular on account of this transaction. In a late effort to be elected to the There is one point wealth and connections. He then got an appoint-ment as aid to Gen. Smith, a shrewd old lawyer of Fredericksburg remarking that it was an illustration

It is on this Lacy's estate and in his domicil that

Gen. McDowell is making himself comfortable. Don't be nervous, General! There's not a gentleman in the neighborhood around you who does not regard it as a piece of "poetic justice." And if by any means some young or aged negroes shall be ing at last of its reformation, held that it ought to be by any means some young or aged negroes shall be found on the estate, whom Lacy thought non doli capaces, you may be sure they have a holy claim to liberty! Let this Rebel Aid's mansion and fine grounds be confiscated, and, side by side with the farm where Washington was reared, it will serve as a warning to the old Burg that Justice still lives in the disunion of the States. Hence, with all con-

hannock ?- Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribu

### CONFISCATION.

his granary. He not only gives Magruder the means of war, but sustains his men in making it. This we consider open rebellion. In the course of time our armies advance. The planter's home comes within our lines. We know he is an enemy to our cause. We know that he has sustained our enemies in the prosecution of open and offensive war. Common sense would say, release his negroes from the bonds by which they have been made enemies; place him in arrest as a traitor; open his barns to our hungry soldiers, and take away all power to be the enemy he has been. This would be retribution for crime committed, and indemnity against crime that might be committed. Yet this would be confiscation; and, on a proposition to make it a law, every Democrat in the House votes nay, and a large number of other members timidly steal into the co refuse to go upon the record.—Philadelphia Press.

CONFISCATION. It is reported that Hon. Horace Maynard, who has just returned to Washington from Tennessee, declares himself in favor of a stringent confiscation act against the rebels. It is noteworthy that Parson Brownlow, Major Polk, and other leading Tennessee Unionists take the same ground.

# The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1332.

# NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVEN-

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention r 1862 will be held in the city of Boston, on WEDNES-DAY and THURSDAY, May 28th and 29th, in the MEL-ODEON, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. of

The New England Convention, annually held for the past thirty years, (with but a single exception.) has been one of the most effective instrumental arousing the people of this land to a just sense of the great Abomination of Slavery. Its yearly sessions have always been largely attended,-not only all the Northern ranks, that our gentlemen might find foe-men worthy of their steel, whom it would be more usually several of the Western and Middle States also. usually several of the Western and Middle States also. Never before was it called to meet under such cheering circumstances. The work of the Convention far from being done, nor can any opponent of slavery safely slacken hand or zeal at this critical hour. But God is now vouchsafing such signs to this nation. such tokens of his power and presence, as should serve mightily to encourage every friend of Freedom. and bring us all to the great crowning labors of the Anti-Slavery cause with redoubled energy and in redoubled numbers.

Let the anti-slavery men and women of New England, then, gather once more in their Annual Conven-This paragraph in a late morning paper brings to tion. Once more let them indicate to the long-slun bering but now awakening land, to a guilty but haply a repenting people, the only Way of Peace, of Safety, and of National Honor. Once more let the words of Justice and Freedom for all he echoed from the hills and valleys of New England, until they join the swelling voices of the Centre and the Great West and the trembling boning slave shall hear the glad tidings, proclaiming his deliverance, his edemption, and his acknowledged manhood.

All friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, in every part of the country, are invited to attend. In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Massa-

chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, EDMUND OUINCY. President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec'y.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The opening session of the twenty-ninth anniversary of this Society was held in the Church of the Puritans (Rev. Dr. Cheever's) in New York, on Tuesday fore noon, May 6,-a most intelligent, sympathetic and crowded audience being present, and warmly responding to the sentiments uttered on the occasion. The President (Mr. Garrison) was in the chair, and opened the meeting by a few congratulatory remarks, and the reading of striking and highly appropriate selections from the Scriptures. A fervent and impressive prayer was then made by the Rev. Mr. Post, after which, seemed to him quite a desperate thing to see ninety-five well-conditioned chattels going out of the State. But then, how could they be of any importance to Smith: ing letter read by Oliver Johnson from Hon. Gerrit

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH Ретеквоко', April 16, 1862. WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND,-The cordial invitation in your etter of 13th inst., to attend and address the approaching Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery So ciety, I should for many reasons love to accept. But I have many labors at home; and, moreover, I am too old to leave home unnecessarily. You will have an abundance of speakers, and will not need my

I trust that the smiles of Heaven will be upon your meeting, and that great wisdom will characterize all

I shall be all the more pleased with your meeting if I find that none of its time was consumed in discussing the relations of the Federal Constitution to slavery. Whether those relations be or be not proslavery, so it is that the American people persisted in being pro-slavery, until they thereby destroyed the nation. Destroyed it is simply by being pro-slavery

The people were infatuated enough to be pro-slavery, whatever might be the character of the Constistance from Chatham.

When Laey had thus defrauded these ninety-five tution; they will now, I trust, be anti-slavery, whatsave slavery; they will now, I trust, sacrifice slavery plete the diabolical programme by selling them South, as he was afraid to live within their reach.

It is to the credit of the Fredericksburgians that they are now willing, if need

There is one point at which the meeting should, in Rebel Legislature he was utterly defeated, despite his my judgment, put forth a clear defence of the "Garrisonian Abolitionist." His influence, especially in the case of such a man as yourself or Wendell Phil of Dr. Johnson's remark, that "patriotism is the lips, is too important to the cause of freedom that injustice should be allowed to impair it. The "Garri It is some gratification to know the sagacious law- sonian Abolitionist" was formerly a Disunionist, and er who drew up the will never got a single chattel is now a Unionist; and hence he is charged with being inconsistent, or at least with being a convert. He is, however, the subject neither of inconsistency nor conversion. This nation, whatever it was in theory and in its laws, was practically a nation of kidnappers-of with her balances and her sword.

By the way, would not the field in which lies the grave and unfinished monument of Washington's mother be a fit place for the encampment of the army of the Union when they shall cross the Rappa.

Whether he was right in holding that the Constitu-

Whether he was right in holding that the Constitution is pro-slavery is another and inferior question. It is very inferior, because, be the Constitution proslavery or anti-slavery, the people are equally bound In dealing with confiscation, we propose to approach it as we do every question this war has created. The time has come for us to accept or reject it; and in the way we signify either our acceptance or rejection, we shape the policy of this war. If confiscation is wrong in theory, then the war is wrong. If we do not adopt every means to crush the rebellion, we indirectly sustain it. A Virginia leafure, in York county, has a hundred negroes—a large farm—overflowing barns, spades, axes, and hatchets. General Magruder wishes to throw up and hatchets of the matter of the matter of the matter of the matter of the ministrative. On the immeasurably measurably come of crime. On the immeasurably crime. On the immeasurably crime. On the immeasurably crime. On the immeasurably crime. On the immea to be anti-slavery. The Constitution can bind none to This we ting to death every feeble-born child. That, however, were a small crime compared with the crime of crimes which stains our nation

You and I have ceased from our anxieties about the abolition of slavery. We must not, however, accept too much credit for having done so. We could well no less widely-extended rebellion could have been put down without putting down slavery. A flock of sheep may be saved, and the suckling-wolf which has got in among them be also saved: but let the welf have a year's more growth, and either it or the sheep must

Please add to the funds of the Society the enclosed draft for fifty dollars.

With great regard, your friend. GERRIT SMITH. the omission of the annual meeting of the Society last May, he would read the following Statement in behalf of the Executive Committee, instead of the Rorth, have been forwarded to the present Congress, asking for a decree of universal emancipation. series of resolutions usually submitted on the occa- It cannot reasonably be doubted that such a

Statement of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

For the first time since the formation of the Ameri an Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, its annual meeting was omitted one year ago, by the unanimous judgment hould be given the domestic enemies of to make a mobocratic outbreak, whereby the traitors of the South might be stimulated to a more vigorous prosecution of their nefarious designs, instead of being erplexed and confounded by beholding an undivided North in the maintenance of popular institutions. Now that the lines are distinctly drawn, and vast rmies are in the field for the suppression of the rebellion, and all sympathy with the rebels is disavowed, this Society deems it advantageous to resume the ob servance of its anniversary meetings in the usual

However opposed it may have been either to the Constitution or the Union, in time past, the Society as countenanced no resort to violence, acted no fac tious part, adopted no illegal or unjustifiable measures. and presented no other than a moral issue in vindication of the sovereignty of God and the sacred rights of human nature, against provisions or agreements regarded by it as cruel, wicked, and utterly indefensible. It is the prerogative of all citizens, whether in an in dividual or organized capacity, to criticise all those laws and institutions for which they are responsible, or by which they are required to be governed, and especially that Constitution which is "the supreme law of the land." And it is equally their right and duty to testify against whatever they conscientiously b be at variance with the principles of justice and the claims of humanity, as embodied in the Constitution or enforced in any of the laws under it. Loyalty to God forbids their being dumb in such an exigency. Beyond this, the Society has never gone a hair's breadth. Hence, those who accuse it of having pursued an incendiary, unlawful, treasonable course, are guilty of calumny. The Society was organized for the abolition of sla-

used no others. It professes to regard the act of makng man the property of man as a flagrant sin against God, and the denial of all human rights; and the slave system as "the sum of all villanies." In this convicworld and the common instincts of mankind: it is, ciety could not but deplore and reprobate those comwhich fugitive slaves are permitted to be hunted and thereby greatly increasing the political power of a desperate and domineering slave oligarchy-and the naional government is bound, in an emergency, to interfere with its military and naval power for the suppres--no matter in what phraseology they are expressed now befallen it, through the treachery of those whom sic it was designed to conciliate and bind, and as the righteous retribution of Heaven.

It was neither a sacrifice of principle nor an abate nent of its testimony, in this direction, on the part of this Society, to declare as to the rebellion itself, that ferred to the habitual use of deceit, wherever interest finding no countenance whatever in the Declaration of Independence, or in any rational theory of popular sovereignty; that its object was as diabolical as its that the national government, having done no wrong the rebellion, at whatever cost to slavery, the sole producing cause of the rebellion.

eighteen months ago, eleven are now in warlike rebelthe repudiation of all connection with free institutions. In one word, rebellion and slavery are synonymous Constitution than to be hanged or shot. The traitors ing precisely the same course. most deserving of this fate at the South are the slaveolders as a class, and with hardly an exception. They are the instigators, the leaders, the gigantic criminals and upon their heads should full on avelanche of retributive justice. Without them, and the is the Constitution, in its admitted pro-slavery compromises, it no longer answers the purposes or needs of this nefarious oligarchy; and, therefore, they trample colored refugees now under instruction at Port Royal

bility, for the further continuance of which, the Gov- is certainly refreshingly cool. ernment and people are to be held amenable before If, before the revolt and secession, they were not answerable for the existence of slavery at the South,

We need not even glance at the absurdity of the su (though their complicity has been constant from the beginning.) still, they can no longer avail themselves have lived all their lives in slavery under the U. S. the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation."

would sweep through the rebellious South with irre-sistible power, and electrify with indescribable joy the entire North. Why should there be any doubt or de lay? If there are no constitutional scruples against sacking the towns, ravaging the fields, and destroying the lives of the rebels of the South, why should there be any against transferring four millions of slaves from of its Executive Committee, in order that, at so the side of rebellion to that of the Union, the Concritical period in the life of the nation, no opportunity kitution, the Government, and breaking all their fetters? It will be an act not only of the highest political wisdom, but of transcendant glory and renown to the Administration under which it is consummated. Then may the shout go up from the At lantic to the Pacific, without cant or hypocrisy, "Lib rty and Union, now and forever, one and insepar

This Society rejoices in those cheering signs of the

imes which indicate an increasing readiness on the part of the Government and people to make slavery and the war terminate together. Among these ar the act of Congress, prohibiting the return of fugitive slaves by any officers in the army; the proposition for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia; the motion of Senator Wilson for a material change in the Fugitive Slave Law, which will undoubtedly prevail; the proposition of Senator Sumner for the abolition of the inter-State slave trade; the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the foreign slave trade; the recognition by the President of the incompatibility of slavery with the safety and permanence of the Government, in his message, recommending the abolition of the slave system in all the States, and proffering a generous cooperation on the part of the nation the rising discussion of the question in the Border States; the restoration of Gen. Fremont to his command, in spite of the calumnies of his enemies, and no withstanding his freedom-giving proclamation in Missouri; the growing disposition of the Government to give succor and protection to all fugitive slaves coming under our flag, as evinced especially at Port Royal, and to employ them for their own and the general welfare; the orders of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to arm at discretion the slaves coming within our lines; and, finally, the cleansing of the National District from very by peaceful and moral instrumentalities: it has all the pollutions of slavery, by the emancipation of

But, cheering as are all these signs, they do not lay the axe at the root of the poisonous tree, which ought to be cut down at once, and destroyed forever: nor do on, it is sustained by the verdict of the civilized they seal up or exhaust the fountain whence these bloody waters of rebellion naturally flow forth, which therefore, neither fanatical nor mad. The charge of are now deluging the land. The subjugation of the anaticism and madness applies to those who advocate | South by the armies of the North is not reconciliation. or sanction slavery, not to those who plead for its immediate abolition. To be morally consistent, the So- while a single trafficker in human flesh finds legal protection, or a single slave is left to wear the voke and promises of the Constitution, admitted and carried out to the letter by the nation ever since its formation, by a homogeneous people, and all-abounding prosperity captured as freely in the Free States as in the Slave from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this Society will earn-States-a slave representation is allowed in Congress, estly continue to enforce the duty of IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. Wm. Wells Brown then took the platform, and de

livered a very creditable and highly satisfactory speech on the question, "What shall be done with the slaves, sion of a slave insurrection. It was specially with if they are all set free?" Rev. Mr. Hatfield, of the reference to these universally recognized compromises, Methodist Church, in Brooklyn, then made an impromptu speech of a stirring and eloquent characteror concealed,-that the Society has felt constrained to followed by Wendell Phillips in one of his admirably pronounce that instrument "a covenant with death, instructive and telling efforts; the services terminating and an agreement with hell," and, consequently, to with the singing of the doxology by the whole as predict in due time that very overthrow which has sembly. It was throughout a highly interesting occa-

### TRUTH AGAINST FALSEHOOD.

The author of Jane Evre, in one of her books, reit was marked throughout by high-handed villany and or convenience prompted it, among the people of the blackest perfidy; that the theory on which it was the Roman Catholic village where her scene was attempted to be justified was wild and preposterous, laid, and to the slight account habitually made of that fault by the spiritual directors to whom these sins were periodically confessed. We Protestants have a sufficient readiness to believe such charges against casures were base and dastardly; and, therefore, the votaries of an opposing faith, and yet we leave a similar fault in our own theological household entire to the South, nor sought to exercise any unlawful ly unregarded. In fact, a readiness to deceive for power over it, was clearly in the right, and imperatively bound, by its constitutional obligations, to crush calumniate those of the opposite sect or party, have become habitual in our periodical press, the "religious" (so called) as much as the commercial and po-Of the fifteen Slave States that were in the Union littical; and hearty acquiescence and cooperation in n, and confederated together for the overthrow of has become habitual with the people; with the supthe government, and the establishment of an inde- porters of the "religious" press, (so called) as pendent slaveholding empire. The other four are much as with those of the political and commerheld in allegiance only by the presence of vast cial. It is undoubtedly true that people of the armies upon their soil, drawn from the North, and wery highest repute for Protestant piety are undisthose States instantly to revolt, and to join the Southern Confederacy. The rebellion, therefore, virtually ed against their opponents. If, then, the religion of covers the whole slaveholding dominion, includes near- a people is to be held accountable, as it must be, in a ly every slaveholder, and has no other object than the greater or less degree, for such a state of things, the preservation and indefinite extension of slavery, and popular Protestant faith of this country must share this responsibility with the Roman Catholic faith

To mention one other example before coming to the and convertible terms. Whoever would see the re- case of which I wish particularly to speak, the National bellion effectually and speedily crushed out, must demand the immediate and total abolition of slavery by for the last five years, made grievous complaints, each the Government, as a measure equally necessary and of disingenuousness, trickery, misrepresentation and lawful under the war power; and whoever is for guard- unfair management in the other. These charges are ing or prolonging the existence of slavery, on any true, and equally true on each side; and the partisans pretext whatever, is directly aiding and protracting of each consider the other very greatly to blame; yet the rebellion. Traitors have no other claim upon the the partisans of each support their own officials in tak-A specimen of the same dishonesty may be found

copied from the Journal of Commerce, in the first column of the first page of this sheet. A gentleman of New York, whose position in society secures him a place in that paper, having refuted, from his own bloody and oppressive system to which they madly knowledge, some of the calumnies uttered by the cling, there had been no rebellion, but in all the Journal of Commerce against the Port Royal teachers South, as in all the North, there would have been the and their employers, the ecitor of that paper returns spirit of loyalty and the prevalence of peace. Bad as to the charge, and, in so doing, displays his friendli-The editorial article in question assumes that the

it under their feet, and cease to claim any advantage will be (and its letter and spirit equally assume that or protection from it, for themselves or their "peculiar they ought to be) "restored to slavery, unless confisinstitution." By so doing, they not only vacate all their old constitutional rights, and utterly preclude all held good in South Carolina." It evidently thinks appeal in that direction, but place their whole slave there is more risk in the possibility of some heterodox system at the mercy of the Government, which should doctrine in religion being communicated to some of have no mercy upon it, but should instantly avail itself these pupils, by some of their teachers, than in the of this magnificent opportunity to smite it to the dust, whole of them going without further instruction. But and so in righteousness bring the rebellion to an end, its yet greater apprehension is of political heresy; and give peace and repose to our distracted and bleed of the danger that these plantation negroes will taught "disunionism." This, from a paper which Under these altered circumstances, slavery is no was recently compelled to a change of editors, through longer a Southern institution, but a national responsi- a well-grounded public belief in its own disunionism,

Becoming a little passionate as he proceeds in the God and the world. On no consideration must they discussion, the new editor reveals with great plainness be permitted to evade the duty of the hour. Theirs his substantial agreement with the old one. That is the right, theirs is the power, theirs is the sacred which he now chooses to stamp as disunionism, and obligation to proclaim a jubilee to all who are pining which he represents as most highly unsuitable to be a bondage in our land; and no device can be substituted for this, without involving them in blood-guiltiness. the Government from all constitutional obligation to

of such a plea. They stand as Pharaoh stood to the Constitution, have any reason to regard or venerate it, of such a pies. They stand as I harden floor of the children of Israel, and can let the bondmen go free if they choose; and if they shall turn a deaf car as he that document, would enter into their present course did, then other plagues shall assuredly acourge the land, and heavier judgments fall upon it. "Now is finger upon the precise doctrine which he objects to having taught, and which he had dressed up for dis To encourage and strengthen the Government in play in the very different proposition above quoted. the performance of this legitimate and beneficent work, His great fear is that the negroes will be taught "that

The President then stated that, in consequence of multitudes of petitions, signed by tens of thousands of they were born free, and that they ought to escape of from their masters if they should be seen to be the property of the property o from their masters if they should happen ever restored to them."

stored to them.

It really looks as if this plous editor, amidst the difficulties of trimming his political course between loyalty and rebellion, had neglected his religious read ing, and overlooked the May number of the Ame ssenger. Even the American Tract Society has now discovered, republished in their official organ and emphasized with italics and small capitals, this in ion of Paul to the servants he was instructing thou mayest be made free, use it rather." And no this hearty defender of their accustomed pro-slaven course, for want of keeping his eye upon the tack the last made, has used the old signal-book in a poi directly opposed to the new one, and now fortifies his objection against telling the slaves that freedom better for them by saying-" What political ins tion is given to these servants should be strictly of a Pauline sort." Is Paul divided! Will the political and commercial editor expurgate the Bible of Nassau-street brethren? They had better send him without delay, a colporteur, bearing an extra copy the May Messenger in one band, and his official tificate, signed and sealed, in the other, to preventing being turned away as an impostor.

Would the employers of teachers at Port Roys dismiss a teacher (asks the Journal of Commerce) cause he taught the negroes that they were born from and that they ought to escape, if reënslaved! not," it replies, "then the plans are wild, nonsend and fanatical.

Nobody questions the right of the editor in question to hold this absurd opinion, or to recommend it to his readers by any honest means. But he proceeds a back it by a lie, representing those who teach the new ferableness of freedom as holding "that anti-slaven and Philo-Negro-ism is all of religion and philanthe that is necessary for any man, and that the cardinal doctrines of Christianity are all included in, or no dered unnecessary by, this new creed."

In the kindred columns of the New York Observe of last week, appears another repetition of two fals hoods common with papers of that class. Speaking of a new book published in Cincinnati, called "Published Politics," the Observer says it shows "the utter fallen of West Indian Emancipation, and the disastrous in fluences of political abolitionism on the interests the American Union."

Since the American people were not enlighten humane and Christian enough to follow the guida of abolitionism proper, which would have extinguish slavery by the substitution of fairly compensate labor, without either war, or disorder or con or any change of residence or occupation on the parf the great mass of freedmen-since they would no do that, there remained nothing to save the North people from themselves becoming slaves, but it political abolitionism" which this mendacious las n traduces. So much for the latter of his deceit. As to the former, although Thome and Kimball

book showed the safety of immediate emancination of the beginning, and the books of Sewell and others continuous and permanent advantage, in the British West Indies, and although these for and others, collated in Mrs. Child's admirable little book, "The Right Way the Safe Way," have been widely spread before the public, still, by dist of repetition among people who will not read these things. he falsehoods of the pro-slavery press retain an extensive currency. The continued circulation of the work last named is the best antidote to these lies. Let it be largely used in this forming period of our future destiny .- c. K. W.

#### THE JUBILEE MEETING.

A meeting of the colored people of New Have. Conn., was held in Temple Hall, on Monday evening April 28th, in commemoration of the Abolition Slavery in the District of Columbia, and was large attended, and passed off with great honor to the who had made the arrangements, and gratification those who attended. The house was called to ord by Mr. Mineas Lyman; whereupon, Dr. C. V. I Creed, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements unced the following gentlemen as officers of the neeting :--President-Rev. Awos G. Benaw.

Vice Presidents-Richard Green, Mineas Lynn, Richard Wright, William Stevens, Thomas Prime Edward Galpin, Robert G. Cromwell, Wm. Wilson, Robert J. Cowes, Richard Giles, S. V. Berry.

Secretaries-Wm. W. Quonn, Chas. E. Cummings Robert W. Evans, Cornelius H. Gibbs.

Rev. D. L. Ogden, in a brief but appropriate prayer. The Chairman briefly addressed the meeting, when the following preamble and resolutions were really Dr. C. V. R. Creed, and adopted in the midst of load

Whereas, the Congress of the United States have in a noble and masterly manner, passed an act ena-cipating the slaves in the District of Columbia, and removed forever this long-cherished institution fron the very heart and centre of the "National Govern thus wiping away the stain which ment," thus wip has disgraced the has disgraced the "nations escutcheon," and achoricedging the great Jeffersonian principles, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, of the dreedon and equality of all men—therefore,

Resolved, That we, the colored citizen of Ner Haven, hall with feelings of intense joy and thankgiving the recent Act of Emancipation, and do herely color of the property of the

return our sincere thanks to those philanhrogic.

Christian statesmen—Messrs. Hale, Sunner, Wiss and Wade, of the Senate—Messrs. Lovejoy, Posts and Stevens, of the House—and all others to whom we feel indebted for bringing about this great refersion. ory measure in behalf of our oppressed felle Resolved, That in our honored President, Lincoln, we recognize those noble traits of chall which have ever shone resplendent, through a sullied life—a man in whom we have the most implied confidence, and whom we will carnestly sustain carrying out the letter and spirit of the Constitution by pledging to him and the country our lives, our fac-tunes, and our sacred honor.

Resolved, That as American Slavery is the main

Resolved, That as American Slavery is the man-spring of the present rebellion, we are in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, until the irrepres-ble conflict between Liberty and Slavery is forest settled, in the complete overthrow and abolition of the stupendous wrong.

Resolved, That in this righteous edict of "nations

Divine Providence by which so many thousand our brethren are becoming FREE from their log cruel bondage, we recognize our new responsibility and obligations to them and to the world, to derive the recognize our new responsibility. and obligations to them and to the world, to d in ourselves, and to teach them the sacred impo of those holy principles of industry, domestic eco temperance, moral and intellectual education, cit religious freedom, upon which, under God, the perity and happiness of all mankind depend, we have a supersonable to the long our labors of the sacred to the ing our labors of love, and rejoicing soon freedom shall be declared to all solved. That the doings of this meeting be true

mitted to the gentlemen embraced i and to the daily press for publication. The meeting was then addressed by Dr. Creed, the Rev. William T. Catto, Dr. Bacon, the Rev. J. Smith, and the Rev. J. S. C. Abbott. The speeches were received with repeated bursts of applause, and the joyous people dispersed, after joining in the

### METAYERS -- CORRECTION.

My friend "C.," whose further account of the Me tayer Culture will be found on the fourth page, represents me as "beset with a crochet that the Metayer tesure is something less than freedom." . He should re member that this idea of mine came from his own representation, (Liberator of Mch. 21st) where he praised the Metayer tenure for the slaves as the preferable alternative of their being "turned adrift is freedom." To be turned adrift in freedom is just what I wish for the slaves; and any persons who really wish to help them can help them better in free dom than under limitations (whether of law or cu additional to those borne by the rest of the cor It appears that a not has crept into the last part graph but one of C's present article, reversing his

meaning. He says that Sismondi's testimony is that of a resident proprietor .- c. K. W.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER. No. 231. May, 1862. The table of contents is as follows:

1. The Best Government. 2. Spencer's Reconcilia-ion of Science and Religion. 3. Alteration of Hynns. After Icebergs with a Painter. 5. Public Prayer. The Ethics of Treason. 7. The Greeks. 8. Auer-ach's Writings. 9. Review of Current Literature. Ice Publications Received. Index.

This is a particularly solid and excellent number This is a particularly solid and excellent number.
Its leading article, suggested by the recently published is leading article, suggested by the recently published Considerations on Representative Government," by "Considerations of Acceptance of the Characteristics of the best government. It considers the acterision of the considers the true ends and functions of government to be, 1. Proection; not of property only, but of all the natural rights of man; including education, in so far as it is rights of man; including concentron, in so far as it is a means of protection; and, 2. Promotion of cooperaa means or protection, and, a Aromotion of cooperaprime end of civil government to be the promotion, prime end of CANE government to the the promotion, preservation and extension of individual liberty. It rectly points out the shortcomings and inconsiscorrectly points out the chorcoracy in this country, shows the right of suffrage of women to be an essential feature of true democracy, distinguishes between liberty and equality, and insists on the importance of

ping the rights of minorities. The article on Public Prayer agrees with a recent number of the North American Review in considering preaching the first, and worship only the secondary nose of our Sunday gatherings. It gives high raise to the recently published volume of Prayers Theodore Parker, vindicates that excellent man m some popular misunderstandings, and comes to the conclusion, in regard to the use of public prayer is our community, that it would bear considerable aution, without any detriment to the interests of

K. G. C. A full exposure of the Southern Traitors the Knights of the Golden Circle. Their Startling Schemes Frustrated. From original documents never before published. Boston: E. H. Bullard &

This little pamphlet of eight pages contains let ters purporting to be from George Bickley, K. G. C. ters purporting to American Legion," and from R. C. "President of the American Legion," and from R. C. Tyler of Maryland, one of the Colonels of that Legion. These are presented to the public by some perso whose name is not given, but who seems to have gained his information by pretending a wish to join

It is represented that this American Legion is an association of Southern and other pro-slavery men, who intended a conquest of Mexico, with the design introducing slavery there, but who were diverted from this plan by the more congenial one of effecting the open supremacy of the Slave Power in the United

I STILL LIVE. A Poem for the Times. By Miss A W. Sprague. Oswego, 1862.-pp. 19.

Miss Sprague's poem is an earnest plea for liberty urging our nation and its official servants to make the esent crisis a means of securing and perpetuating truly free institutions.

THE EIGHTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT. A Birthday, delivered in Falls Church, Fairfax Co Va., on Sunday, Feb. 23d, 1862. By Rev. F. B. De Costa, Chaplain of the 18th Massachusetts Reginent. Charlestown, Mass., 1862. pp. 15. This sermon was preached to a Massachusett

Regiment by its Chaplain, not only in Virginia, but in the very church, near Mt. Vernon, where Washinghearers were urged to imitate Washington's patriotist and piety. The necessity of acting for freedom as gainst the rebellion, is strongly urged, but the danger we are in from the system of Southern slavery is only briefly and vaguely alluded to. A few pages are occupied with an attempt to represent that war is not opposed to the genius of Christianity.

THE PROGRESSIVE ANNUAL for 1862. Comprising an Almanac, a Spiritualist Register, and a General Calendar of Reform. Published at the office of the Herald of Progress. New York: A. J. Davis & Co. No. 274 Canal St. pp. 68. Price 15 ets.: 10 copies

help to prove, the true fraternity of all reforms

The work presents, first, some fundamental ideas association or action, and are confined to the boundary of no sectarian authority. Fourteen specifications, however, are given, in the shape of resolutions, "which may be regarded as an embodiment of the Harmonial

The pages of the Calendar, which follow, are alternated with pages of paragraphs containing facts, sugrestions and ideas, many of them of a very high order of excellence. In contrast with these are some weak and poor things, such as the paragraph at the bottom of the 17th page, entitled "Vail over the Face," where a vulgar error is attempted to be replaced by a theory having no better foundation than the former one.

Next come "Laws of Life and Health," which seem to be abbreviated portions of "The Harbinger of Health," a work prepared by Andrew Jackson Da-

such as has not before been published, first of Writers, Speakers and Workers, in the different fields of human progress, and next of various progressive Publications, old and new, periodical and other. This department is to be enlarged and improved in next year's colume. The Progressive Annual is a very useful addition to our reformatory literature, deserving, and no doubt destined to find, a wide circulation.

THE MONITOR. Albert Stacy, Publisher for Proprie-

tors, Concord, Mass. Number 1, April 19, 1862. This handsome quarto paper of eight pages, with an advertising cover, is issued weekly from Concord, Mass., and is to be bought wherever the best literature s kept for sale. Its outside and inside, its form and substance, its judicious mixture of light and solid, grave and gay, remind you of the various names that have given Concord its eminence and interest, and justify the expectations one naturally forms from them.

The contents of the first number are-"To You All.-The Presidency of Harvard College.-Fanates. - At Home. - Abroad. - Sudbury and Assabet Rivers.-The Queen of Hearts and the King of Clubs. -Rifle Balls, why they turn.-Abraham Lincoln.-April 19th, 1861.—Reviews.—Art.—The Theatre."

The second number, April 26th, contains-" Philanthropy.-The Contrabands of Port Royal.-The Concord and Sudbury River Meadows .- The King of mittee:-Clubs and the Queen of Hearts: (Continued.)-The Stars and Stripes. (A Song.)-Vineta. (From the German.)-At Home.-Abroad.-The Art of War.-Washington Irving. - Sand Paper. - A Handful of Spring Flowers.—Rifle Balls.—The Studio.—Music convictions of duty, they would be glad if, upon further consideration, he could feel it right to remain in

has a finely engraved and accurate portrait of her. which adds greatly to its value. Mr. Tilton, too, has done his part well, in his graceful and appreciative " of Mrs. Browning, full of nice discrimination and analysis of her poetry and her character. Altogether, Mr. Miller has given us, in this now completed set, a most attractive copy of the works of this wondrously gifted woman.

BALLADS OF THE WAR-MARCH TO THE CAPITAL No. I. By Augustine J. H. Duganne. Splendidly and profusely Illustrated, from original Drawings John Robins, 37 Park Row, and sold by all Book sellers, News Agents, and Canvassers.

From this specimen number, we infer that the whole series will be replete with interest and attraction, and quite sure to obtain many subscribers and purchasers. It is beautifully printed, and the sketches bind us together, until the jubilee of the slave shall are made in a very artistic and graphic manner.

Minister of the Gospel. Boston: Published for the

This is a simple, unvarnished narration of an ventful connection by its author with various Catholic monasteries, whereby he was led to perceive the profligate habits of many of the priests; and, astounded at the discovery, he made his way to Rome, throughmany difficulties and perils, ingenuously but absurdly supposing that, by revealing to the Pope the facts that had come to his own knowledge, he would meet with sympathy, and induce further inquiry into the matter.
"But, alas, for his hopes! Where he looked for consolation, he met neglect and scorn. He arrived in Rome with delightful anticipations, and departed dis-gusted, and despairing of finding a perfection which did not exist." He was subsequently greatly persecuted, and, after many painful visitations and narrow escapes, at last succeeded in making his flight to this country. He appears to possess a humble and sweet spirit, and indulges in no vituperative language. Of his respectability and truthfulness, there are many vouchers, which appear in the appendix. The price of the work is 75 cents. Application can be made to John F. Cotton, Box 1079, Boston.

#### J. M. McKIM AND THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A copy of the following correspondence has been, at our own request, kindly furnished by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society for publication. We should have great regret at laving it before our readers, were it not for the statement which we are permitted to append to it by way of qualification. See remarks subjoined.

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, January 22d, 1862. To the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-

Slavery Society: DEAR FRIENDS-I absent myself from your meetwill continue to perform the duties of the office till as well as converting the public, will not hereafter

It is now twenty-two years since I entered the service of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; and more than twenty-six years since I commenced my labors in this State as a public advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause. On the first of October, 1836, actuated by a profound sense of duty, and with a heart panting for the work, I accepted a commission from the American Anti-Slavery Society, to labor in its behalf, in this my pative State, as a travelling lecture. I combined in native State, as a travelling lecturer. I continued in

cord which drew me to the cause in the beginning still tactics binds me to its fortunes; and the ties which have link-

signs of the times in regard to the former warrant the belief that its overthrow is near, and the progress of change in the character of the latter justifies the conviction that its regeneration will soon be sufficiently assent to all that Mr. McKim says of the inapplicabilcomplete for all our intended purposes.

The Society is now at liberty to discontinue the use of some of the instrumentalities heretofore deem- spond to what he says of the Standard, and rejoice in ed indispensable. The travelling lecturer is no longer the assurance that his best energies will be devoted to a necessity, and the agent in the office need not feel bound to his place by a sense of obligation. This latter fact, applied to my own case, I accept as an indication of duty. Taken in connection with other signs pointing in the same direction, it has brought me to the conclusion which it is the business of this letter to announce. Having performed this task, and having nothing else to add, except that I hope to be with you at your next meeting as usual, I am, in the bonds of fraternal affection and anti-slavery fellowship,

Yours, to the end, J. M. McKIM. The Recording Secretary to Mr. McKim.

JANUARY 28d, 1862. DEAR MR. McKIM: The Executive Committee postponed final action upon your resignation until the next meeting. In the meantime, I am instructed to The following is the text of t hand you the following minute adopted by the Com-

"The Committee are unanimous in regretting the proposed resignation of J. M. McKim, feeling that his withdrawal will be a great loss to the cause; and while they do not wish to step between him and his

As for the apprehension expressed of "loss to the lic opinion through all its phases, and anticipated with WEDNESDAY, May 7. The hard fought action of days with great difficulty, and lay by his eile in the As for the apprehension expressed of "loss to the cause" from my withdrawal, I have only to say, that our cause is happily beyond the reach of injury from any circumstance of such comparative unimportance.

Presuming that you will take an early opportunity to act on my letter, I am
Yours, truly,

J. M. McKIM.

The Executive Committee to Mr. McKim.

The Executive Committee to Mr. McKim.

Yours, truly, J. M. McK

The Executive Committee to Mr. McKim.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 9th, 1862. J. M. McKin: Dear Friend-It is with no ordinary feeling of regret that we receive the announcement of by the best Artists. New York: Published by your resignation of the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Years of mutual intercourse and labor in a cause with which our lives have been inwrought, create the strongest fraternal bonds; and our hearts refuse to consent to the severance of even the official ties which could change your decision, we would gladly speak that word. Our work is not yet done, and the portion Experience of Fifteen Years as Roman Catholic Clergyman and Priest. By M. B. Czechowski, curately measured by mortal ken. In our opinion, our cause still needs your services at the important post which you have so long occupied. But if your decision cannot be reversed, all that remains for us to signation; and to express, at parting, our high appreciation of the services we are about to lose. It is in conformity with conventional usage, nor in the hollow forms of ceremonious phraseology, but from the strong impulse of our hearts, that we testify to the fidelity and zeal and diligence with which you have served the Anti-Slavery cause through all its vicissitudes, from the time of your consecration to it, in its day of small things, to the present Wour, when it

> seems about to be crowned with victory. With the same cordial sincerity do we reciprocate your expression of fraternal regard, and assure you that the friendship which has been nurtured by the intense experience of cooperative anti-slavery labor through so many years, will long survive that labor. Our best wishes for your prosperity, and for the abundant success of all your efforts to bless the human race, will ever attend you.

JAMES MOTT, ROBERT PURVIS, ABBY KIMBER. MARY GREW, BENJAMIN C. BACON. SARAH PUGH, MARGARET J. BURLEIGH, REUBEN TOMEINSON.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR OF THE A. S. STANDARD We are pleased to learn that Mr. McKim, though not persuaded to withdraw his resignation, has con-sented to remain in his present position till some other person, equally competent to its duties, shall be found take his place, or till the Committee shall be satisfied that the interests of the cause no longer forbid his ing this afternoon that I may the better perform a duty which, you are aware, I have for some time this, as we do, that there is no present probability of had in contemplation. I propose to dissolve my offi-cial connection with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; and to this end I hereby tender my resignation as Corresponding Secretary. That no been in times past. The old routine of anti-slavery inconvenience may arise from sudden change in this work is, to a considerable extent, at an end. Convenmatter, I desire to add that, with your approval, I tions, field agencies and other appliances for rousing you shall have had time to supply my place with a as necessary as they have been hitherto. The friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society should, it seems I need hardly say that, in taking this step, I have to us, devote much of their time and means hereafter not acted without careful consideration; neither need I add that I perform the duty its adoption devolves much for this object heretofore, not only by his conupon me with undisguised reluctance. A tie of more than twenty years standing, even though it be but an of the paper upon the friends of the cause in his field official one, is not to be severed without cost; and a of labor; but we understand it to be his purpose to relation around which are twined the best associations do still more in time to come. His letters have for of a man's life is only dissolved after painful effort.

It is now twenty-two years since I entered the service

The paper, and its readers generally will rejoice in

" I still hold to the convictions expressed in my let-The preface to this little Annual declares it to be designed to impart information concerning principal persons and important movements in the different dewhich time, by invitation of your predecessors in which time, by invitation of your predecessors in the different dewhich time, by invitation of your predecessors in the different dethis service, with a brief interruption, occasioned this ferror principal terror of resignation. In my judgment, the old anti-slavery routine is not what the cause now demands.
Iconoclasm has bad its day. For the battering-ram partments of thought and reform; and to suggest, and office, I entered upon the duties from which I am now we must substitute the hod and trowel; taking care, In all these years, nothing has occurred to make have passed through the pulling-down stage of our and principles of "the progressive Spiritualists of America." These have no creed as the basis of their self-devotion to the cause, nor the subsequent manner remains to be accomplished. If our machinery can in which I was led to carry that purpose into practice. be adapted to the new exigencies—as it undoubtedly My labors and experiences have been sources to me of highly prized advantage; and from my official conmy interest in the old appliances and old watch-words nection with the Society, and the relations in which is pretty much all gone. Scarp and counter-scarp, it has placed me with the Executive Committee, I big guns, and 'Delenda est Carthago' do very well have derived some of the purest pleasures of my life. when the citadel stands defiant and apparently im-I leave without the memory of a grievance, or the pregnable; but when an enemy hoists a flag of truce drawback of a single unpleasant recollection. The and proposes negotiation, it is time to change our

"There is one of our old appliances, however, in ed me to the dear friends who have been my coad- which my interest has increased rather than abated; jutors have undergone no change except that of aug- I mean the Standard. That is, at present, in my mented vigor.

I retire because I believe that my peculiar work, in rally our sine qua non. I would have it understood, the position I have occupied, is done. The ultimate even more distinctly than it now is, that the Society object of the Society, it is true, has not yet been attained, neither is its particular mission entirely accompaper a staff of editorial and other contributors, whose plished. Slavery still exists; and public sentiment knowedge of the cause and experience in its service respecting it is not yet wholly rectified. But the qualify them to say the word which its exigencies de-

> Some of our readers may not be quite prepared to ity of the old appliances of the cause to its present needs; but we are sure that they will all heartily rethe work of increasing its value and enlarging its cir-

ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION TO THE

AMERICAN MINISTER. At two o'clock on the 16th ult., His Excellency, C. F. Adams, United States' Minister to the Court of St James, gave audience to a Deputation of the members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at his official residence, to receive an Address from the Committee. The Deputation consisted of Mr. Samuel Gurney, M. P., Mr. John Ivatt Briscoe, M. P., the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M. P., Messrs. Josiah Forster, Henry Sterry, Robert Alsop, William Thomas Sargant, Gerard Ralston, the Rev. Dr. Car-

The following is the text of the Address:

To HIS EXCELLENCY, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS United States' Minister to the Court of St. James. SIR,-The COMMITTEE of the BRITISH and FOR-EIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY are gratified at being able to offer an address of cordial welcome to an Ambassador from the United States of America to this country, who holds principles in harmony with their

satisfaction at the avowed determination of the Presi-dent and his administration to put down the African slave-trade, and consider that the cause of humanity is deeply indebted to them for the decided attitude now assumed against all persons implicated in the prosecution of this most infamous traffic. But while the measures the United States Government is adopting are evidences of a resolution which cannot be too highly commended, the Committee respectfully submit, that others equally decisive are imperatively required to prevent the abuse of the United States flag for slave-trading purposes. It is notorious that the Trans-atlantic African slave-trade is carried on almost exclusively under cover of that particular flag; and the Committee would therefore venture to suggest, that the United States Government should, without delay, concert, with that of Great Britain, the mean

means may be found to prevent, for the future, the desecration of the national flag by the pirates engaged

I pray you to receive my thanks for the very kind allusion you have made to myself, and to assure you of my cordial sympathy with you in the arduous labors in which you have been so long and so honorably

Mr. Josiah Forster, having addressed the Minister on the subject of the Memorial, the Deputation withdrew

The Horse-Tamer. John S. Rarey, Esq., is again delighting the citizens of Boston with exhibitions of his humanity and address in the management of the horse. Two very successful performances, with the usual accompanying remarks, have already been given at Music Hall; a third is announced for this (Friday) evening; and the least formal, and therefore, doubtless, the most instructive of all, will close the series to-morrow afternoon. Our readers are well aware, from his previous visit, of our high estimation of Mr. Rarey and his system, and will need no urging to acquaint themselves with both.

to acquaint themselves with both.

The Annual Prize Declamation of the English High School took place at the Tremont Temple, Boston, last Wednesday forenoon. The Transcript tells us that one of the two recipients of the third prize was J. C. Francis, a colored boy; and it adds that he received the highest number of marks for the day's performance from the Committee. The subject of his declamation was "The Rendition of Fugitive Slaves."

dier has been exhibited in the office of the Sergeantat-Arms of the Joues of Representatives, which had been converted to such a purpose, and which had been found on the person of one of the rebel prisoners taken in a recent conflict.

The testimony of Gov. Sprague of Rhode Island is most interesting. It confirms the worst reports against the rebel soldiers, and conclusively proves that the body of one of the bravest officers in the volunteer service was burned. He does not hesitate to add that this hyena desceration of the honored corpse was because the rebels believed it to be the body of Col. Slocum, against whom they were infuriated for having

with sorrow and indignation by the people of the loyal States.

They should inspire these people to renewed exertions to protect our country from the restoration to power of such men. They should, and we believe to the same of the District, asking to be colonized in Central America. I am pleased to state that no such document has emanted from the people of this District. ... We would like our friends everywhere to understand, that every sensible man in the District is opposed to any such petition, from whatever quarter it may come; for this is our home, and here we will remain."

YORKTOWN EVACUATED BY THE REBELS.
YORKTOWN, Sunday, May 4th—9 A. M. General McClellan telegraphs Secretary Stanton that the endoched the secretary stanton to the secreta "I have received letters from New York and other points, making inquiries in relation to a memorial presented to Congress by Hon. Mr. Lane of Indiana, purporting to come from colored citizens of the District, asking to be colonized in Central America. I am pleased to state that no such document has emanated from the people of this District. . . . We would like our friends everywhere to understand, that every sensible man in the District is opposed to any such petition, from whatever quarter it may come; for this is our home, and here we will remain."

YORKTOWN, SUNDAY, May 4th—9 A. M. General McClelian telegraphs Secretary Stanton that the enemy have abandoned their position at Yorktown, and are now in full retreat. The evacuation was learned to have been ordered by Jeff. Davis and Generals Lee and Johnston on consultation. The rebels distributed torpedoes along the line of their retreat, and many of our troops have suffered fatally by their explosion. Cavalry and infantry are pursuing them towards Williansburg. The deserted works differ greatly in respect to strength.

Williamsburg. The deserted works differ greatly in respect to strength.

MONDAT, May 5. The number of guns deserted by the rebels and now in our hands amounts to about 50, ranging from 3 inch rifled cannon up to 10 inch Columbiads, with carriages and implements complete, and 76 rounds of ammunition to each piece. All this exclusive of Gloucester Point, also in our possession. A hand to hand encounter took place yesterday between the cavalry of the enemy and ours pursuing, resulting in the capture of 25 of the former and their utter discomfiture.

We have news from other parts of the seat of war, confirming the arrival of Gen. Butler at New Orleans, the capture of Baton Rouge, with immense seizures of cotton and other property. Eleven rebel gunboats and Hollins's turtle were destroyed in our passage up the Mississippi. The Verona (Federal) and Webster (Rebel) sunk each other. This was our only loss in ships; in men, 150. Contradictory rumors still prevail about the evacuation of Corinth. Gen. Pope has captured 2000 rebels at Farmington, Tenn. At Fredericksburg, Va., Gen. McDowell is organizing "contraband" labor.

REBEL BARBARITIES AT MANASSAS.

Report of the Senate Committee—The Charges Fully Sustained—Most Horrible Developments.

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, April 30, 1862.

the Committee would therefore venture to suggest, that the United States Government should, without delay, concert, with that of Great Britain, the mean of preventing the abuse referred to.

The Committee feel it incumbent upon them to express their extreme gratification at the several propositions, tending towards Abolition, recently introduced to the United States Legislature, more especially those for the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia, and for according Government aid to any State desirous of enancipating its slaves. While these measures may, indeed, when judged of from the Committee's point of view, fall short of actual right to the oppressed and injured slave, the Committee rejoine in them and hail them most cordially, as fall of promise for the future, and as steps approximating to the absolute requirements of justice and humanity.

The Committee view, with profound sorrow, the unhappy contest between the Northern and the Southern sections of the Republic. In the presence of so appalling a calamity, they can only give utterance to the fervest hose that the fact year of the forest pool to the fervest hose that the abolition of the true cause of steffs, a common ground of Union may be found, and a divided community be again joined in the bonds of brotherhood. In conclusion, the Committee would assure you, Sir, of their personal esteem and consideration, and of their very sincere desire for the welfare and the prosperity of the nation you represent.

New Broad Street, E. C., 4th April, 1862.

The Address having been read by Mr. Chamerovaw, His Excellency made the following reply: Create and the prosperity of the nation you represent.

The desire of the people of the United States is to extend the blessings to be obtained under free institutions as far as possible, consistently with the preservation of every existing obligation, over the entire surface of their territory. Against the prospectation of the state of the proposition of the problem of the president of the problem of the proposit

shameful treatment. All the considerations that inspire chivalrous emotions and generous considerations
for brave men have been disregarded. It is almost
beyond belief that the men fighting in such a cause
as ours, and sustained by a Government which, in the
midst of violence and treachery, has given repeated
evidences of its indulgence, should have been subjected to treatment never before resorted to by one foreign nation in a conflict with another. All the courtesies of professional and civil life seem to have been
discarded.

Gen Beaurogard himself when a very recent co-

discarded.

Gen. Beauregard himself, who on a very recent occasion boasted that he had been controlled by humane feelings, after the battle of Bull Run, coolly proposed to hold Gen. Ricketts as a hostage for one of the murderous privateers, and the rebel surgeons disdained

declamation was "The Rendition of Fugitive Slaves."

Cause the recens behaved it to be the body of Col. Slower, against whom they were infuriated for having displayed so much courage and chivalry in forcing his regiment fearlessly and bravely upon them. These disclosures, establishing as they incontestably do the constant inhumanity of the rebel leaders, will be read with sorrow and indignation by the people of the loyal

The Rebel Barbarities. Among the testimony offered before the Senate Investigating Committee, Nathaniel F. Parker, captured at Falling Waters, said that the prisoners were always badly treated, many died from sheer neglect, and five were shot by sentries. Dr. J. M. Homiston, Surgeon of the 14th New York, was refused permission to attend to wounded men. He and his fellow prisoners received no food for twenty-four hours at Manassas, and inexperienced Surgeons performed operations in a manner absolutely frightful. Corporal Prescott's leg was so unskillfully amputated, that the operation had to be subsequently twice repeated, and that he afterward died of exhaustion. Water was refused to the suffering men, and they were only relieved by catching rain water as it fell from the roof. Several died during the night after the battle from neglect. Some were left upon the battle-field until Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. William F. Swalm, Assistant Surgeon in the same regiment, confirmed the testimony of Dr. Homiston. Gen. James B. Ricketts, when lying wounded on the field of battle, heard passing Rebels say, "Knock out the brains of the d—d Yankee." He was told the next day by Beauregard, whom he knew, that his treatment decended unon the treatment received This important and elevated office has been most appropriately conferred upon you. Sir, whose senting. Welliam F. Swalm, Assistant Surgeon in the subject of slavery have ever-been in sympathy with those of the British nation, and who may be said to inherit them, in direct descent, them, there are pleased to entertain to was engaged yesterday morning by the rear guard of the ment and the explusive of the ment and the explusive of the subject of slavery have ever-been in sympathy with those of the British nation, and who may be said to inherit them, in direct descent, they reached a Memorial, by Theodore Tilton. New York:

Last Poems. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. With a Memorial, by Theodore Tilton. New York:

This important and elevated office has been most appropriately conferred upon you, Sir, whose senting the Yours, sincerely,

REUBEN TOMLINSON, Sec'ty.

Anyl-Slavery Office, Jan. 24th, 1862,

Anyl

days with great difficulty, and lay by his side in the same room with other prisoners for two weeks, without a bed. They were huddled togethef in one, room at Richmond, and an intolerable sterech, and Rejut there as a common show. Gen. Johnson took his wife's carriage and horses away from her. They were never returned. Louis Francis was bayoneted while lying oh his bed. His leg was twice amputated. Two operations were necessary to be performed after his release. Daniel Bixby, Jr., of Washington, says that he heard Mrs. Pierce Butler say that she had seen the Rebels boiling portions of the bodies of the dead, to obtain their bones as relies, and had seen drumsticks made of "Yankees' shin-bones," as they called them; and that she saw a skull that one of the New Orleans Artillery had, which he said he was going to send home to have mounted, and that he intended to drink a brandy punch out of it the day he was married. Benjamin Franklin Lewis, living in the neighborhood, saw many bodies stripped naked before they were buried. Negroes said that finger-rings were made of the bones, and that the Rebels sold them in their camps. Gov. Sprague confirmed much of this testing the serve beared on the way he were been to read the server have read to be were heared to read the server have read to be the server have read to read the server have read to be the server have read to read the server have read to read the server have read to read the server have read the server have read to r the bones, and that the Rebels sold them in their camps. Gov. Sprague confirmed much of this testi-mony from his own observation when he went to re-cover the bodies of Colonel Slocum and Major Ballou. He found a trench where the dead were buried with their faces downward, undoubtedly as a mark of in dignity. Much other testimony was taken to the same

cffect.

Cruelties of the Rebels. The Committee of the Conduct of the War have been taking testimony in relation to the treatment of the wounded Union soldiers that fell into the hands of the rebels at the Battle of Bull Run. In relation to the case of Corporal Prescott, of the Fourteenth Regiment, N. Y. S. M., (Brooklyn), Dr. Homiston testified that on the rebels taking possession of the hospital he was not allowed to operate; that he particularly requested Dr. Darbee, of South Carolins, the rebel surgeon in charge, to allow him to amputate the leg of Corporal Prescott, telling him that Prescott was a particular friend of his, and he attended to his family. Darbee said that under those circumstances he should be allowed to perform the operation. He requested Dr. H. to sit down while he procured some things which Homiston would need. He sat down and waited some time, when he heard a rebel soldier say—"They are sawing a d—d Yankee's leg off, up stairs." Dr. H. rushed up to the room, where he found Dr. Darbee and two young men, one of whom had just taken one of Prescott's legs off in a most horrible manner. He had left no flaps to cover the bones and form a stump, and the three of them were striving by force to draw the flesh over the bone to cover it. As they could not do it they cut round the bone, forced the flesh back, and again sawed off the bone. They then sewed the flesh over it, but in consequence of there not being enough to cover the bone property, when it swelled, the stitches drew out and the bone protruded.

During the operation Dr. Homiston, a-skifful surgeon, was not allowed to do anything.

Dr. Swalm testified that he attended Prescott, after his leg had been amputated, found the bone protruded, and the stump a mass of pus and maggots. Darbee again intended to operate on it, but about an hour before he came Dr. Swalm performed the operation, again sawing off the bone. By careful treatment he succeeded in almost healing over the stump, when Darbee ordered all the wounded to be removed to Richmond.

but to no purpose. They were put into freight cars, and kept twenty hours on the road. The effect of the and kept twenty hours on the road. The effect of the joiting of the cars on the poor wounded Corporal can be imagined. Before their arrival at Richmond the wound had opened, and the bone again protruded. He died that night in awful agony with the lockjaw. Thus perished Corporal Prescott, of the Fourteenth Regiment, a young man of fine abilities and liberal education, a man calculated to be an ornament to society, and one who was beloved by all who knew him; and his death under such infernal cruelty, will form part of the general exhibition of Southern cruelty, for which the loyal Unionists will take vengeance before this struggle is ended.

A correspondent of the New York Tribune

HORRIBLE OUTRAGES OF REBEL OUTLAWS. Just above where we are lying, on the Tennessee here, in Lauderdale County, resides a family former-r of Iowa, who have lived there for the past four or ly of Iowa, who have lived there for the past four or five years, and have witnessed the workings of Secession in this vicinity. They say that immediately after the declaration that Tennessee had gone out of the Union, bands of armed men went prowling about the country, robbing whomsoever they chose, insulting women, and forcing loyal citizens into the Rebel serice at the point of the bayonet. They committed the greatest outrages everywhere, and the family of which I speak were deprived of everything valuable in the house; while the head of the household was compelled to fly from home, and hide in the woods at least six or seven times to avoid impressment.

A number of Union men refused to embrace treason even when threatened with death, and those brave spirits were carried off and executed by the mob. The wife of the Iowa man says a great meny were hanged, and that she herself knows six who were suspended from a tree within two miles of her own dwelling, and left there as mey to the buzzards and the crows. Their bodies were afterward taken down and buried, but not before the Rebel outlaws were at a safe distance, as the people were fearful, and not without reason, that had it been known the rights of sepulture were given to the poor nartyrs, those who performed that common act of charity would probably have shared their fate.

CRUCIFIXION OF A UNIONIST. The woman says that one of the Union men who had been impressed and afterward deserted, more perhaps because he believed his family were starving than from his abhorrence of joining so unholy a cause, was captured in Lauderdale County while on his way home, and was autually nailed to a tree, and left there to perish by inches. The man was found there a week after, merely by accident, as he had been gagged to prevent his outeries, and man was found there a week after, merely by accident, as he had been gagged to prevent his outeries, and thus deprive him of all hope of release, and taken to the house of a neighbor. The unfortunate victim was still alive, but so much exhausted from exposure, famine and pain, that he died on the second day after his release, notwithstanding every effort was made to save his life. This story seems most improbable; too save his life. This story seems most improbable; too horrible for belief; but the woman, who has no motive for misrepresentation, declares it true, and I can see no good reason for discrediting her account of the unnaturally cruel and entirely monstrous transaction.

A distinguished gentleman from Nashville in-A distinguished gentleman from Nashville informs us that, notwithstanding the exceeding moderation and kindness exhibited there by the Federal authorities, the violence of some of the rebel women goes beyond all bounds. They seem less like women than she devils—or we may as well say he devils, for they unsex themselves. They wear unconcealed pistols and dirks in the streets, and not unfrequently they sit or stand at the windows of their houses, and spit to stand at the windows of their houses, and spit to the standard of the standard of

The Jennison Trouble in Kansas. From various accounts given of the difficulty between Col. Jennison and Gens. Denver and Sturgis we glean the following to have been the cause: The Kansas regiments, among whom was Col. Jennison's, were impatient because of their inactivity, when Gen Curtis was calling from Missouri for help. Not being able to satisfy the desires of his men, Col. Jennison resigned—his resignation to take effect on the 1st of May. Six weeks before that period an order was received by the Lieutenant Colonel of Jennison's regiment, from General Sturgis, instructing him, as if his superior officer had not been in command. This paper Jennison destroyed, and continued to fulfill the duties of his rank; but this act of proper respect for himself and his position was seized as an excuse for his arrest, and he was ordered to prison and to be ironed there: Prominent citizens of St. Louis interposed for his release, and became security for him; and Denver and Sturgis, as is already known, have been removed.—Boston Journal. THE JENNISON TROUBLE IN KANSAS. From va-

MIDDLESEX COUNTY. A meeting of the Middleses County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at FELTONVILLE, on Sunday, May 18, at the usual hours of meeting, through the day and evening. A preliminary meeting will probably be held on Saturday

vening, May 17.

It is hoped that the members and friends of the Society, in the neighboring towns, will, so far as pessible, be pres-

PARKER PILLSEURY, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., GRORGE W. STACY, and other speakers are engaged to attend.

SAMUEL BARRETT, President. MISS ANNA E. DICKINSON, of Philadelphia.

will give an Address upon Slavery and the War, in the Meeting-house at HOPEDALE, on Sunday next, May 11, at 11-2 o'clock, P. M. Also;—on the same day, in MIL-FORD Town Hall, at 51-2 o'clock, P. M. Miss Dickinson is expected to speak in SALEM, on Sunday, May 18. Particulars in next paper.

JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., is prepared to deliver his lecture, "A Plea for my Race," where he may be invited. His address is No. 6, Tremont street, Boston.

MARRIED-In this city, April 30, by Rev. J. Sells. Martin, Mr. Burrill Shith to Miss Caroline Frrenan. In Charlestown, Mass., April 24, Mr. Sahuel Fowler.

For the Liberator. THE OLD SLAVE'S CURSE.

An old slave sat, at the close of day, Too weary for slumber, too hopeless to pray; In thankless toll had his life passed away. Many a crop had he wrung from the soil : He had fought Labor's battle .- but where was the snoll? He had worked in the garden, picked in the field, Raised the vine's clusters, the harvest's rich yield; Loads of ripe fruit he had carted and wheeled.

All his food was hominy, oft without salt; And ne'er in the path of his duty must halt. And what were his wages for life's weary years? A suit of blue homespun, hard stripes and salt tears,

And a rod for his soul through the gospel's stern fears His wife,-companion,-was torn from his arms; For rich men had eyes, and could pay for her charms And the Law was not made for chattels' alarms !

His children,-no, animals,-they were sold round, Bringing "massa" high prices, if warranted sound; Regarded by "massa" like racer or hound! The old slave sat, at the close of day, Too weary for slumber, too hopeless to pray, And he thought of his life, almost passed away;

And his spirit rose up from his long life-time wrong, And broke forth in words by the winds borne along, Till the North, East and West heard the sorrowful song Carsed be earth ! when the man that sows the grain, And waters the furrows with blood like rain.

Cursed be the earth !

Cursed be earth! when he that raises the fruit With hourly threat'nings, and blows to suit!

May never a competence hope to gain !

Cursed was earth of old, when the first-made bride Walked forth to her doom by her husband's side ! But what were the curse, were the love denied?

Burdened with sight, and groans, and wails ! If sound be photographed, write down the tales Before whose record humanity qualls. Keep them, O air !

Cursed be the earth ! may the locusts of old neircle green fields with their withering fold, And all slaves by Famine to Death be sold !

Cursed be the earth! may Pestilence stalk Through hall and hovel with lordly walk, And life no more with its sufferings mock ! Cursed be the earth ! I. L. A. V.

#### For the Liberator. A CLOUD UPON OUR COUNTRY.

A cloud upon our country ! and it lies Because our country held so foul a wrong ! A wrong that burdened every breeze with sighs, Looked up unpitied with its weeping eyes,

And formed the minor strain in Freedom's song.

A cloud upon our country ! While God gave Blessings of plenty with a bounteous hand. We saw his image not in the poor slave, Sick and in prison, and we did not save ; Scourged, hunted, burned within our native land

A cloud upon our country, not more dark That that veiling her face so many years! Through the wide world was heard the bloodhound's bar Making her name an ignominious mark ;Not all unheeded fell her bondmen's tears.

We may do wrong until we think it right; Familiarized with crime, the crime defend; But down-crushed manhood hath resistless might When it arouses from Oppression's night, And pent-up fires volcanic streams will send.

### "LET MY PEOPLE GO."

THE SONG OF THE SLAVES HOPE.

BY GEO. S. BURLEIGH

A murmur in the midnight! Hark The whisper of a tremulous hope The bondman's dungeon, deep and dark ! Old smothered heart-beats leaping out Almost to utterance, old despair Catching new breath in quickened air,-The indrawn breath of Freedom's shout !

A quick thought gleaming in the night,-Orion's sword by daylight sheathed !-A voice to morning never breathed, The lark-song of an inward light! One sleepless eye, one lissening ear, In gloom could see, in silence hear,

The whispered hope, and sword undrawn By broad Missouri's winding wave, On fair Potomac dashed with blood, Old songs, the heir-looms of old time. The awful words that smote, erewhile, The crested Dragon of the Nile, Preluding Israel's march sublime.

I plagues, the tenfold scourge of God, Vermin and blight -all loathsome things Commissioned by the King of kings,-Obedient to the prophet's rod,-With blood and hail and lightning-glow. And darkness deeper than the Came down the trumpet-voice of doom, " Proud monarch! let my people go!"

Not till the robber's land was shorn Of all her glory and her power, And judgment rang its final hour In death-groans of the earliest born Nor till the Red Sea's refluent wave The pomp and pride of Pharaoh,-

The fire and blood and reptile swarm Are on the land of bondage now ; Portends the final thunder-storm While mutters in the sulphurous cloud The summons, "Let my people go !" Slaves in their cabin chant it low.

How long, avenging God ! how long Must rise the old predictive wail, Must fall the lightning and the hail, Ere dance the freed to Miriam's song? The murmur deepens to a cry, Thought leaps to utterance like a sword Of fire unsheathing for the Lord, And Freedom calls to do or die!

The slave has hope ! then hope my soul ; No steed to slaughter drives amain But where God holds the bridle-rein He calls from battle's thunder-roll, " Ere all the first-born feel the blow. And War's Red Sea for ever whelms The glory of your banded realms, Arise ! and let my people go !"

DAYBREAK. Morn in the East ! How coldly fair It breaks upon my fevered eye! How chides the calm and dewy air How chides the pure and pearly sky ! The stars melt in a brighter fire-The dew, in sunshine, leaves the flowers They, from their watch, in light retire,

While we in sadness pass from ours.

# The Tiberator.

#### METAYERS.

I had intended to give some further account of the Metayer Culture, when I fell very unexpectedly into the good-natured controversy with your contributor C. K. W., upon the subject. Let me do so now.

The system is not in favor with English authoritie if we except John Stuart Mill. The reason appears to be, that they judge of it as it existed in France under the ancient regime, when the exemption of the noblesse from direct taxation threw the whole burden of the fiscal exactions of the corrupt and despotic govtenure, which is indispensable to its prosperity, and, rel with the blacks, would help them to form an in as I have before stated, than a leasehold; but is not want of the poor industrious man is capital. lords. There is no system of labor that would not and with the least possible room for altercation in the away the corruption of the old monarchy, and obliterate the titles to property that otherwise could not be dence vouchsafes to us no other method of purification freedom under law. from the corruption of slavery, and the removal of titles that obstruct the progress of industry and civilization in this country. No argument can be drawn from the example of France against the Metayer system in the true and better form as it is presented Italy.

adaptation of the latter to the large culture of the slave States; but the fact is, experience is wanting altogether in respect to the emancipation and civilization of 4,000,000 slaves to be suddenly placed in free dom, without capital, and with no organization of labor to provide them with employment and wages. To do right is what we want; and to do wisely as well as right, is a matter that requires careful and earnest consideration. I am not able to see why, if profits are to be divided, there is not a wide field of success for metayers in the expanded and profitable culture of cotton, tobacco and rice at the South. It seems to me that, before we get to the end of the present rebellion, South, to dispossess them of power to destroy the government. The laborers must occupy these estates; more advantageous and practicable organization than for the government to place the estates under the control of commissioners, who will provide for the laborers, generally direct the culture, receive and dispose of the cotton, rice and tobacco, in the cities, and divide the proceeds between the laborers and the government. The commodities would seem to be of the best description to be handled and divided in this manner: and as the government can have no object in selecting commissioners who would not feel an interest in the welfare of the blacks, there would seem to be no better or more liberal plan to bring them forward to the possession of capital, and to the rights of citizenship in "freedom under law." As they acquire capital, intelligence, and habits of self-reliance, there can be nothing in their condition as Metavers to prevent them from becoming proprietors; and if the privilege of the Metayer tenure should be granted to white men, there cannot be a doubt that large numbers, who will become acquainted with the South dur ing the war, will avail themselves of it with alacrity

Chateauvieux, after describing the convenient arrangement of their farms, says of the Metavers of Its ly, and especially of their system in Piedmont-"The rotation of crops is excellent. I should think no country can bring so large a portion of its produce to man ket as Piedmont." The soil is not naturally fertile. yet" the number of cities is prodigiously great;" and be eminently favorable to the net as well as the gross produce of the land."

on the higher slopes, their healthy verdure contrasting is the suppression of free discussion. with the pale tint of the olive trees, and spreading a brightness over this amphitheatre. The road was this debate, that the discussion or agitation of the slalittle distance from the road, and separated from it tained. On the contrary, the very reverse is and straw hats ornamented with flowers. . . . Almost of slavery everywhere throughout the United S to mass and to balls. Thus, on holidays, hundreds

that would accrue upon the Southern plantations, and which might be divided between metayers and propriit will be for the Government and for the best inter- bomb-shells. (Laughter.) ests of the nation. The extracts I have given show

As to parting with the laboring population of the scheme, it is difficult to conceive. I am bound to attention and decorum, night after night, to the dis capital to raise the slaves of this country to their nity, unmolested, to defend the institution to th fixed capital, of a character so effective and so much but to tolerate and defend free di to estimate it as capital in financial statiatics. It tened to, on last Sabbath evening, with patience and grows by a higher law than the organization of labor courtesy, while he defended and justified slavery t capital, and has it in him in a state of waste or profit, in a public audience like this anywhere i one of dollars; but it teaches no such pretty fo nonsense as the throwing away of this vast sum of between the civilization of the North and that of the

"has the advantage of being specific, and from accurate knowledge; his information being not that of a resident proprietor, intimately acquainted with rural life." It would exceed the limits of this article to repeat his description of the dwellings and mode of life of the metayers of his district; besides, except as illustrating a principle of success in the system, i would have but little application to any state of society that we could establish in our Southern States. Now, a word to your contributor, C. K. W., who is

beset with a crochet that the metayer tenure is some thing less than freedom; or, as he expresses it, a tenand perfect freedom." I recommend it as something between poverty and wealth, not as between slavery ernment upon the occupiers, and ground the Metayers stated, that if the privilege of the metayer tenure wa to dust. The better, and perhaps the only fair, type extended to our soldiers, they would seize upon i of the system is to be found in Italy. The fixity of with avidity at the close of the war, and without quar one would think, to its existence, is stronger in Italy, proved society in the Southern States. The great to be found in France, where, it is said by Arthur rights and obligations of the metayer being fixed by Young, the Metayers are considered as little better usage," according to Sismondi, "and all taxes and than menial servants, removable at pleasure, and rates being paid by the proprietor," the system would obliged to conform in all things to the will of the land- give him the use of capital in the easiest possible way, be despoiled and emasculated under such detestable settlement of accounts. I cannot see that the soldier tyranny as that which governed France before the or the white citizen would fall from freedom by thus on. Rivers of blood were necessary to wash accepting a joint account interest, and becoming partner of the proprietor in the working of an estat upon conditions "fixed by usage"; nor can I see occupied by honest labor, except from cruel and legal- that the same arrangement in the case of the black ized persecution; and it is to be feared that Provicitizen would in the slightest degree encroach upon his

#### DISCUSSION ON SLAVERY AT CINCINNATI

Mr. EDITOR,-Every Sunday evening, for the past two or three months, a debate on Slavery has been going on at the Unitarian Church in Cincinnati, Rev. M. D. Conway presiding. The question is, "Would to Metayer culture, that experience is wanting of the a proclamation by the President of the United States, emancipating the slaves of rebels, put an end to the Several good speakers, pro and con, have participated, and the most ultra sentiments on both sides are listened to with attention by large and respectable audiences. The greatest degree of courtesy s manifested by the different combatants toward each other, and it is believed that much good has been accomplished for the cause of human freedom.

The following speech of Mr. M. R. MILLER W. made in reply to the remarks of Mr. M. F. PICKLES one of the pro-slavery advocates, who had made, on the Sunday evening previous, an elaborate defence and justification of human bondage, in reply to a the necessity will be apparent of dispossessing the written question sent up to him by a gentleman in owners of a large portion of the cotton estates of the the audience three weeks previously. The question was, "Do you justify one race of human beings holding another race in bondage?" Mr. P. promthey cannot buy them; and I cannot conceive of any ised at the time to answer the question on the suc ceeding evening, but failed to do so, and he was again publicly called upon to fulfil his promise, or acknowl edge that he was incapable of doing it. Mr. P. thereupon, finding himself cornered, rather reluctantly took the stand, and made a most desperate effort to justify human bondage upon principle, but it is gene rally conceded that he made a grand failure.

At the opening of the debate on the following day evening, Mr. M. R. MILLER, being invited by the hairman, made the following speech in reply to Mr. Pickles, which I have reported, and forward to you for publication, if you should think it worthy of a place in your paper.

#### SPEECH OF M. R. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is not without considerable embarrassment. I as sure you, that one so humble as myself presumes address so large and intelligent an audience.

During the past week, a gentleman remarked to m that he did not believe that this discussion would effect much good. I do not agree with him; but, on the contrary, firmly believe that free discussion, if conducted with courtesy and candor and good feeling on both sides, is essential to the permanency of free in stitutions. This free government of ours is the result of free discussion, and it can only be successfully maintained by encouraging and maintaining free discussion. Free discussion is the very life-blood of the Republic. As well stop the pulsation of the heart. and expect life to continue, as to stop free discussion, Of the valley of the Arno, in its whole extent, both and expect liberty to continue. As well blot out the

Forests of olive trees covered the lower parts of to continue, as to blot out free thought and free speech, the mountains, and by their foliage concealed an in- and expect this free republican government to confinite number of small farms, which peopled this part tinue. Let there be no fear of free discussion; the of the mountains. Chesnut trees raised their heads greatest thing to be apprehended in this government It has been over and over again asserted, during

bordered on each side with village houses, not many very question was the prime cause of this fratricidal paces from each other..... They are placed at a war. But never was greater mistake made or enterby a wall, and a terrace of some feet in extent. On truth; instead of the discussion of slavery being the the wall are commonly placed many vases of antique cause of the war, the truth is, it has been the want of forms, in which flowers, aloes, and young orange trees free discussion of the slavery question that has been are growing. The house itself is completely covered with cause of the war. [Voice—"That's so."] Why, with vines. . . . Before these houses we saw groups of sir, if anti-slavery men, both of the North and of the peasant females, dressed in white linen, silk corsets, South, had been allowed freely to discuss the question every farm maintains a well-looking horse, which if that provision of the Constitution of the United goes in a small two-wheeled cart, neatly made, and States which guaranties free discussion, which says painted red; they serve for all the purposes of draught that "the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the for the farm, and also to convey the farmers' daughters rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States," had been faithfully observed, I verily believe of these little carts are seen flying in all directions, this war had never occurred. If free discussion, by carrying the young women decorated with flowers and speech and by the press, had been tolerated and defended, as it ought to have been. I verily believe that Now, nobody expects to make an Acadia like this anti-slavery men everywhere could have persuaded of negro South Carolina. Nobody expects the fine our Southern brethren to have placed the institution culture and picturesque beauty of the small farms of of slavery in the way of ultimate extinction, without Italy can be reproduced upon the broad acres of the injury to themselves. I believe that Abolitionists cotton fields of the South; but I suppose the income could have convinced the better judgment of slave holders, that their own happiness and prosperity would the emancipation of their etors, is vastly greater in proportion to population slaves. No, sir, it was not the free discussion of slaves. than the income of Italian estates which is thus divery at the mouths of Abolitionists, but it was the vided. No doubt, a metayer income of our Southern suppression of its discussion by mob violence and plantations would yield capital as soon as the negroes otherwise, which has resulted in the present discurwould be sufficiently advanced in general intelligence sion of the question at the mouths of cannon. (Apand in habits of self-reliance to profit by it, and the plause.) It was the attempt to suppress its free dissooner they can be brought to this condition, and cussion by egg-shells, which has inevitably brought made to feel the responsibility of citizens, the safer about the sad necessity of now discussing it with

The free discussion of slavery in this church, durthat society among metayers is as free to all sorts of ing the present winter, is one of the most cheering rational enjoyment as that of any other class of farject. A thing, perhaps, not often witnessed in this country since the days of Jefferson, we have presentcountry, as proposed by the colonization scheme, it is simply not to be thought of. What idea of political thought of. What idea of political telligent audiences, composed of citizens entertaining economy enters into the heads of those who favor this antagonistic sentiments on the subject, listening with think they are empty of economical ideas, and filled cussion of slavery in the abstract and in the concrete. only with partisan politics. It has cost a vast deal of Our pro-slavery friends here have had a fair opportupresent productive capacity. Every laboring man, heart's content. This fact furnishes a most signifiwhether bond or free, working with hand or head for cant contrast between the two civilizations. Here, in the satisfaction of human wants, is an embodiment of the North, it is our pride and glory, not only to invite, superior to brute force, that political economy refuses jects. Our pro-slavery friend, Mr. Pickles, was listed outlined to the provided by the continuous superior to brute force, that political economy refuses jects. inert matter, and reaches a higher purpose; the best of his known ability; but he knows that and yet every individual has cost a certain amount of would not be permitted unmolested to oppose slavery after all. I forget that we have not done estimating he knows that I would be gagged, tarred and feathmen by money value. Political economy does say ered, and perhaps hung to the nearest lamp-post, that the four million men and persons held in bondage "without the benefit of clergy." [Voice—"No doubt in this country are worth \$300 per head, or twelve of it."] My friend Pickles must be, by this time, reibly struck with the vast difference existin

speech which my friend, Mr. Pickles, made before care of them? They possess property to the amount the crowning act of his illustrious life; and if all blave. this audience on last Sabbath evening, in answer to the question propounded to him three weeks before, whether he would justify one race holding another in bondage. He attempted to justify human bondage on himself? He was born and raised a slave till he was principle; but I doubt very much whether he made his case out to his own satisfaction, or even that of his to the fact that slaves can take care of themselves friends, who were expecting something from him when set free. The slave oligarchs of the South, more than mere naked assertion, without logical proof. who have made that argument to be used by their After having taken three weeks to prepare himself, I pro-slavery supporters in the North, really do not must confess that I was looking for something more mean by it that they are under any apprehension able and convincing; but with due deference to his about their slaves, if set free. The acknowledged ability as a debater on other subjects, is only with regard to themselves. The real mean-he made a most signal failure. But his failure was ing of the assertion is simply this: "Oh! it will not owing to the weakness of the man, but to the never do to let the slaves go free; for if you do, their weakness of the cause which he espouses; for I tell our pro-slavery friends that they have a champion here. He has failed no more than the best of those who ever undertook to defend slavery have failed, and Again, they say-"It will never do to liberate the as all men must forever fail. My friend asked for slaves, because they are not fit for freedom." Slaves more time, and I hope the Chairman will allow him not fit for freedom! Why, of all men, it seems to more time; but I tell the gentleman that a whole me, under the broad canopy of heaven, no man is so eternity will be far too short for him to make a ra- fit for freedom as he who has not got it. (Applause.) It tional and logical defence of slavery. No man can would be as absurd to contend that he who is hungry defend that which is indefensible. Not while right is not fit to receive food; that he who has toiled all and wrong, justice and mercy, retain their present day long is not fit for rest; that a man prostrated on a mification can human bondage be justified.

fear it has not yet operated to his satisfaction, he seems determined to repeat the dose until it does. Well, sir, what is the sum and substance of his oft-repeated avs-"He who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is a public most emphatically deny that slavery has done it, or believe that the slaves are the happiest people in the world. such a public benefactor, and I defy him to prove it. Now, whenever I hear one of them make that dec calth of the world, such as cotton and sugar, still if, that he does not. Then I ask him why he does not in accomplishing that object, slavery has caused two go down South, and be a slave, in order that he may groans to issue from anguished human hearts where be the "happiest man in the world." To this he genwith human blood, and watered it with human tears; ther of them can be happy as a slave, so long as hu colored friend, Peter Clark, remarked the other thousand living witnesses that slaves are wretched

Nevertheless, where slavery has made blades of (Laughter.) grass grow, let it have the credit of it, by all means. A gentleman lately from New Orleans told me that he A gentleman lately from New Orleans told me that he saw grass growing in the streets of that city last fall, than the free negroes of the North." Why, do they not where it never grew before, and I suppose slavery is know that a slave cannot own any property, not even entitled to the honor of causing that grass to grow, the shirt on his back ? But there is not a free negro at any rate. But, whether that will entitle it to be in the North who does not own at least that much called a public benefactor is rather questionable. and there are thousands of them who are rich, who (Laughter.)

My friend Pickles defends and justifies slavery on hundreds of thousands of dollars. An anecdote is told the principle, that it has accomplished the "greatest of a free negro who once sold himself for five hungood to the greatest number." The greatest number dred dollars, and put the money into his pocket. of whom? Does he claim that it has been the great- His master then said, "Now, Pompey, you're mine, est good to the greatest number of those who have body, soul, breeches' pocket, money, and all." (Laugh been torn from their native homes in Africa, and ter.) This shows the inalienable nature of human made to toil all their lives in America, under the lash, liberty. It is absolutely impossible for a freeman to without wages? Or does he mean that it has been the sell himself; for who is to receive the money? Nor greatest good to the greatest number of those who is it any more possible for a slave to own anything claim to own human beings as "other cattle"? Sla-because all the slave has belongs to his master. The very the greatest good of the greatest number! Why, master says to his slave what a man once said to his that is nothing less than the highwayman's justification. That is precisely the justification of the marich, and give to the poor. Their motto was the same palpable falsehood was ever uttered. There is not a s my friend P. now inscribes on the banner of slavery, "The greatest good to the greatest number." If oundations of society, and drive civilization back into the dark ages. It would justify the citizens of Cincinnati in seizing upon the property of our respectable and wealthy fellow-citizen, Mr. Longworth, and distribute his great wealth equally among the two hundred thousand people of this city, in order that itants might be accomplished. Now, I know my friend Mr. P. would not approve of such wholesale robbery as that; but then, it is the inevitable consequence number. If there is any difference between the as now defended and justified upon this floor, it is

rive to the rich. (Applause.) as he says, it has made their condition better than it negro race; for it had brought them all the way from vas in Africa. Now, the gentleman ought to know that Africa, and civilized and Christianized them here. the slaves of the South never were in Africa at all; Slavery had Christianized brutes! they are native Americans, born on the soil; and The doctrine, that negroes are only brutes, and slavery has not made their condition better, for they have no souls, places our pro-slavery advocates here were born slaves, and are slaves yet. Besides, the in rather an awkward predicament in regard to the gentleman must have forgotten that it has been as- case of mulattoes. Being half white and half black, serted, over and over again, by himself and friends, half man and half brute, they can only possess half been getting worse and worse ever since the agitation Peter Clark, has only half a soul, and can never be

Now, I would like to know by what logic Mr. P. can be made better by being born slaves, and afterwards ter Clark. They can't exactly fix his status. better ? (Applause.)

tute their whole stock in trade. Whether you are to time demand. (Applause.) on the steamboat, the railroad car, in the bar-room of At times, when you have driven your pro-slave the hotel, or in the private parlor, wherever the sub- ry antagonist to the wall, he will become irritable ject of negro slavery is introduced, if you should ad- and very likely one of his old fits of disgust will overrance the idea, that it is an outrage against the eter- take him, and you will probably hear him exclair nal principles of justice for man to hold property in "Well, I hate a nigger, anyhow." A few days ago. man, and compel him to work all the days of his life while in conversation with a pro-slavery opponent, h without wages, some pro-slavery man will very likely said to me, rather pettishly, "I hate a nigger." I reak forth with, "Oh! it will never do to let the asked him if any negro had ever did him any harm slaves go free; for if you do, they can't take care of "No," said he. Did he ever injure or slander any of themselves." Now, it seems to me that a man with your family or friends? "No." brains sufficient to fill this glass tumbler must see any negro done to you, that you should hate the whole that such an assertion is equally false and ridiculous. Why, the fact staring us right in the face is, that is a nigger." Why, the fact staring us right in the face is, that is a nigger." Our pro-slavery friends call us fanatics; slaves not only take care of themselves, but they take but whenever I shall profess to hate a man who never are of their masters at the same time; and if our injured me nor mine, then set me down not only for a ro-slavery friends would conquer their prejudices fanatic, but for a fool. (Applause.) gainst the negro, they could not fail to see it. (Ap-

selves? They have no masters to take care of them, hard arguments. and have had none for nearly thirty years. Do not. the three hundred thousand free negroes of the North those who are held in slavery. The great and good

bed of sickness is not fit for health; or that a nation The argument advanced by my friend, Mr. Pickles, devastated by the horrors of civil war is not fit for justify one race of men holding another in bondage, peace, as to contend that a human being, born with tead of being anything new, is merely a repetition the instinctive love of liberty, and deprived of that of his old two-blade of grass argument, which he has inestimable boon, is not fit to receive it. (Applause.) often advanced during this discussion; and, for Emancipated slaves have, in every instance, proved themselves eminently fit for freedom. In all the various modes of emancipation-immediate, gradual, conditional and unconditional-they have improved two-blade of grass argument to justify slavery? Why, their condition, and still love and defend their free-

Our pro-slavery opponents tell you that they have been down South, and seen slavery as it is, and they But even granting his assumption, for the sake of the laration, I always ask him if he thinks himself the "grass" he means the natural happiest man in the world, and he invariably replies none rose before, slavery is not a public benefactor, but the worst of public malefactors. This has been py as a slave." Ah! I reply, then you are willing to the bloody record of slavery in all ages and countries, admit that a negro can do what you cannot do. If he and such it continues to be. Wherever it has compelled men to raise blades of grass, it has manured it ever a negro can do, a white man can do. But neiand, therefore, the end accomplished is vastly disproman nature is what it is. (Applause.) The forty ned to the means employed. As our eloquent thousand runaway slaves now in Canada are forty vening, it is too much like burning down St. Peter's and miserable. Is it possible that the happiest men in the world would voluntarily run away from happiness

Then, again, you will hear our pro-slavery oppoown real estate and other property to the amount of "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." (Laughter.) The slave of the South is no better off than the free negro of the North. No more slave but knows it to be false A man must first own himself before he can own anything else. No man can be worse off than he who does not own himself. (Applause.) No man who owns nothing can be better off than he who owns himself: and every free negro of the North owns himself, and more besides.

Again, when our pro-slavery friends find themselves hard pushed for argument, they will say, "Well, we don't believe a nigger is a human being, any how." I heard a learned professor, in one of our medical colleges in this city, deliver a public lecture last winter, and he argued for over an hour and a half, and quoted principle, that it is the greatest good to the greatest ing. He had displayed upon the walls of the lectureroom maps of the heads of the different races of manhighwayman's doctrine, and the doctrine of slavery, kind. There was the head of the Caucasian, the Monas now defended and justified upon this floor, it is this,—that while it was the doctrine of the brigands Negro. He said that God never made but one race of in ages past, that it was right to rob from the rich and human beings with immortal souls, and that was the give to the poor, it is the doctrine of slavery, at the white race. All the other races, he said, were merely resent day, that it is right to rob from the poor, and brutes without souls. But, what was remarkable, this same learned pro-slavery lecturer, evidently forgetting Mr. P. sets up the claim that slavery has conferred what he had been previously arguing, said at the congreat benefit upon the slaves in the South, because, clusion, that slavery had been a great blessing to the

this debate, that the condition of the slaves has souls. According to this, our eloquent colored friend, more than half saved or half damned. (Laughter.)

Our pro-slavery opponents here are in quite a quan nake it appear that the condition of human beings can dary with regard to our eloquent colored friend. Peintentionally made worse to spite their friends in the Peter Clark makes his appearance upon the street North, because they want to make their condition railroad car, and is told by the conductor that he must get off, the rude treatment is justified on the I will now consider some of the ridiculous asser- principle that Peter Clark represents the negro. But ns, called arguments, usually advanced by our pro- when we introduce Peter Clark upon this stand, and slavery friends, here and elsewhere, whenever the sub- he makes before this intelligent audience a better ject of the emancipation of slaves, or that of the eleation of the negro race among us, is introduced. discussion, (always excepting our learned and elo They entertain such profound contempt for the negro, quent friend, the Chairman;) when Peter Clark that they will not permit themselves candidly to constands on this rostrum, and, like Paul before Agrippa, sider the arguments we advance. Their prejudices defends himself and the cause of his proscribed race; against the race are so deep-scated, they are so pre- with a learning and eloquence worthy a scat in the determined not to hear anything said in their favor or United States Senate, or any other legislative body, against the "peculiar institution," that they are in- why then our pro-slavery friends say that Peter Clark competent to form a just and rational opinion on the represents the white man! (Applause.) It is thus our opponents blow hot and cold, just as the pressing Senseless and self-evidently false arguments consti- exigencies of their desperate cause may from time

When you have completely discomfited your pro-

lause.) They ignore the plainest teachings of histo-y. Why, let me ask them, do not the Haytians, who ned their freedom by their own bravery on the bat- than to waste my time in talking with a d-d Abolitie-field, take care of themselves? Do not the man-tionist." This is proof positive that he has entirely umitted slaves of Jamaica, of Barbadoes, and of the run out of argument, and you may consider that your other British West India Islands, take care of them-

What is an Abolitionist? One who is for liberating The testimony of Sismondi to the Metayer system he pleases, and "there is none to make him afraid." lake care of themselves? Do not the free negroes of man, whose birth-day we have but lately celebrated, is still more favorable than that of Chateauvieux, and I desire to make a few remarks in reply to the

possess property to the amount the crowning act of the war in the war in the crowning act of the war in the noble act of emancipating his slaves, they too would have died Abolitionists, and there would not this day be a slave in America.

A gentleman who had travelled South once told me that, while rambling through a grave-yard near a Southern city, he saw engraved upon a tombatone, as one of his greatest virtues, the fact that the deceased ad liberated all his slaves by will. Now, if it is a noble act for a slaveholder in the South to em his slaves, how can it be an ignoble act in an Aboli ionist of the North to persuade slaveholders to perform noble acts worthy of being recorded upon their tombstones? (Applause.)

There are several other pro-slavery arguments which I had intended to notice; but my time has expired, and I give way to others

#### FROM THE ARMY OF GEN. HALLEGE

Dr. Breck, of Springfield, who went with a brest Dr. Breck, of Springheter, who were win a brother of the late Col. Peabody to the field where the battle of Pittsfield Landing was fought, has returned and furnished the Springfield Republican with the following account :-

" Following the great battle of the 6th and 7th. General Halleck on the 10th intil the arrival of General Liabovs on the 10th, disorder and demoralization were fearfully prevalent. From ten to fitteen thousand men lined the iver bank, and many of them had been there since the Sunday previous. As soon as Gen. Halleck entered the field, everything underwent a change. Met were put into quarters and order at once restored.

Gen. Halleck is the idol of his army, and is a

much a gentleman as a soldier, and presents the highest type of both. He has pitched his tent in the field of his army, about a mile from the landing and come rain or sunshine he shares it with them. All this is very much unlike Gen. Grant, who, on the morning of the memorable Sabbath day's battle was quietly breakfasting at his quarters in a fir use in Savannah, ten miles from the of conflict and carnage, and did not reach the fick until four hours after the battle commenced.

The authority for this statement is the captain of the steamer which conveyed him from Savannah is Pittsburg Landing. During a stay of five days a Pittsburg, in constant intercourse with officers of en-

spoken of Gen. Grant.

They openly charged him with the responsibility of the awful sacrifice of life that had taken place. in other words, for Sunday's surprise and defeat. Had not the rebel army been held in check on Sunday night by the gunboats and a pair of siege guss on shore, which were kept firing all night, and the reinforcements of Buell and Wallace came in, Gran's entire command would inevitably have been baure

-an army of 38,000 men.

As this army occupies the ground on which the battle was fought, there are to be seen on every hand the evidences of an awful conflict. The whole surface is covered with mounds and graves, where the dead are buried to a vastly greater extent than he world will ever know. The almost fabulous accounts given by the burial arties could not be credited without a view of this

mmense charnel house. Often, in passing over the ield, one comes upon a grave in which the occupant so slightly covered that the head, or one or more ands are seen protruding.

Bodies are still brought in, every day, of those who

have lain uncovered since the battle-bodies of hose who had crawled away wounded to die in secluded places. There are a thousand dead horses still unburied. The atmosphere is so loaded with upportable pportable.

During the shelling of our gunboats on Sundaight, after the first day's fight, a piece of week

as set on fire, burning over a surface hardly n he charred corpses of over five hundred rebes flames closed the scene over them all. The number of dead upon the field has been variously est mated, and will probably never be ascertained. Dr. Breck, conversed with many who had charge of the burial parties, and they all agree that two-thirds of all found dead upon the field were rebel. An intelligent and truthful officer, an acquaintage of Dr. Breck, assured him that, in a little raise which he pointed out to him, he counted three hu dred rebel corpses, and fifty of our men, and the doctor estimates the number buried upon the fell at not far from 8000.

Two out of every three of these are rebels, an this, it must be remembered, leaves uncounted the dead they took with them. The mortality among the wounded is very large. Of six hundred and fifty upon one boat, two hundred died before they reached Cairo. The wounded, as we have already said, are now nearly all sent away, and pro

for in hospitals, on the Ohio and Mississippi rives.

Our force now on the ground is large—probably large enough. Gen. Pope has already joined the no question about the superiority both of our men an arms. Our Unio with small round balls, many of them no larger than a pea. Several who were shot through the lung with these balls seem to be doing well.

The rebel wounded are torn pitifully by the Minie balls, and this partly accounts for the greater loss of life among the enemy. There is no doubt that the battle of Pittsburg Landing is the greatest

### A PHILOSOPHIC NEGRO.

A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, writing om the Cumberland river, gives the following h morous account of a colloquy with a philosoph

I noticed upon the hurricane deck to-day an eld ly negro with a very philosophical and ret s, squatted upon his bundle ive cast of countenance se cast of countenance, squatted upon masting his shins against the chimney, and a plunged into a state of profound meditation by inquiry that he belonged to the Ninth Illinois of the most gallantly behaved and heavily is g regiments at the Fort Donelson which was aboard, I began to interroga im upon the subject. His philosophy was so much the Falstaffian vein that I will give his views in own words, as near as my memory serves me: Were you in the fight

"Had a little taste of it, sa."

Stood your ground, did you?" in at the first fire, did you?"

Yes, sa, and would ha' run soona had I knowl Why, that wasn't very creditable to your con-

Dat isn't in my line, sa-cookin's my perfeshun." Well, but have you no regard for your reputs Reputation's nuffin to me by de side ob life."

"Do you consider your life worth more than ofr people's?"
"It's worth more to me, sa."

"Then you must value it very highly."

"Yes, sa, I does—more dan all dis wuld—more dan amillion of dollars, sa, for what would dat be

wuf to a man wid de bref out of him? Self perseashun am de fust law wid me."

"But why should you act upon a different rate Because different men set different values upon

"Because different men set different values of dar lives,—mine is not in de market."

"But if you lost it, you would have the satisfaction of knowing that you died for your country."

"What satisfaction would dat be to me when de power ob feelin was gone?"

"Then patriotism and honor are nothing to you?

"Nuffin whatever, sa—I regard dem as among de vanities; and den de gobernment don't know me; hab no rights; may be sold like old hoss any day, and dat's all."

"If our old soldiers were like you, traitors might have broken up the Government without resistance.

"Yes, sa, dar would hab been no help for it!
wouldn't put my life in de scale 'ginst any Gobernment dat eber existed, for no Gobernment could replace de loss to me."

"Do you think any of your company would have issed you if you had been killed?" missed you if you had been killed?"

"Maybe not, sa—a dead white man ain't much!o dese sogers, let alone a dead nigga—but I'd a missel myself, and dat was de pint wid me."

It is safe to say that the dusky corpse of that Alrican will never darken the field of carnage.

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